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**Although to sight lost, to memory dear : representations of Cyprus by foreign  
travellers/artists 1700-1955.**

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**“Although to Sight Lost, to Memory Dear”**

**Representations of Cyprus by foreign travellers/artists**

**1700-1955**

**Volume I**

**by**

**Rita C. Severis**

**A dissertation submitted to the University of Bristol in accordance with the requirements of the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in the Faculty of Arts, in the Department of History of Art.**

**March 1999**

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**Abstract:**

This thesis researches into the works of artists and travellers who visited and visually represented Cyprus in the eighteenth, nineteenth and the first half of the twentieth century. It is based on over three hundred and fifty works that are for the first time collected and presented, pertaining to two periods of the history of Cyprus, those of the Ottoman and the British rule. I have tried to include biographical information on the visitors and historical data relating to their visit from either their own journals, notes or published material or from related or contemporary sources which determined the evaluation of their work and the circumstances under which it was executed. A panorama of the topography, the monuments and the ethnography of Cyprus is unfolded through paintings, watercolours, and drawings by professional and amateur artists, giving the opportunity to establish how far these are realistic representations of the land and its people; I examine the attitudes, prejudices and objectives of these visitors against the political background of the country at the time, the influences from their own background or that of their employers or patrons, and of Cyprus itself. I question how far concepts such as Imperialism, Orientalism, Colonialism have affected artistic representations of Cyprus and to what purpose. The research presents the development of the focal points of attraction in the island and the change in the perceptions of those who visited it over the span of two hundred and fifty years.

**To Costas, without whom...**

***Acknowledgements:***

Why I decided at this stage of my life to go back to University and conduct this research, I owe to all those travellers and artists who, over the centuries, visited my country, wrote about it and represented it. They have all my respect, admiration and they have been my inspiration. I enjoyed every minute of reading through their texts and looking at their illustrations which, at the end of the day taught me much about my people and my land.

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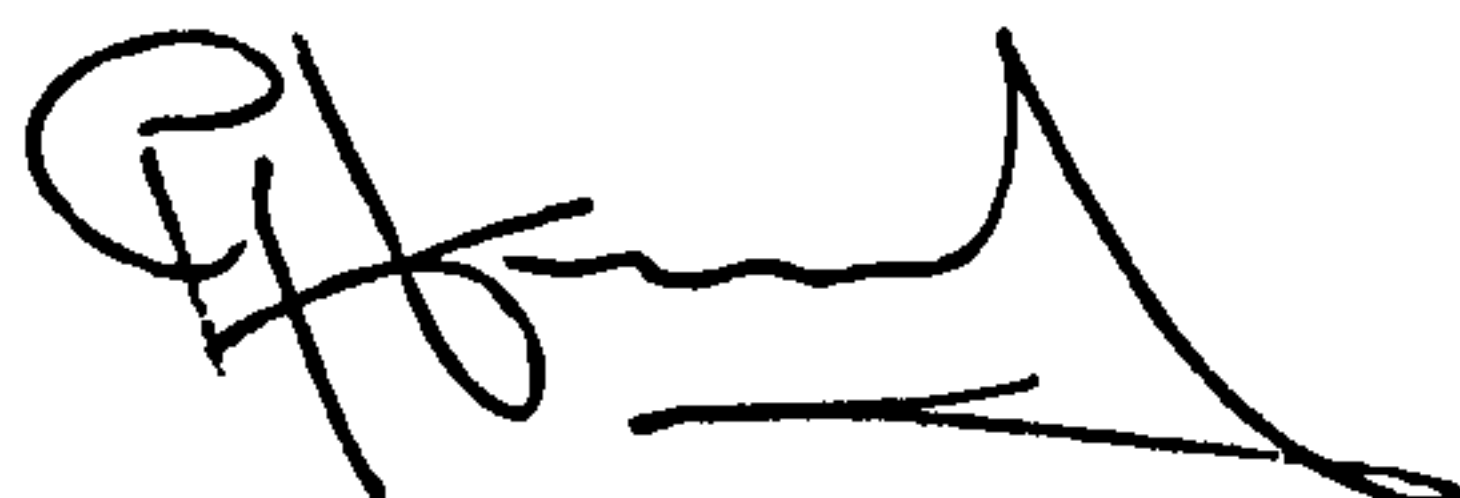
### *Author's Declaration*

I declare that the work in this dissertation was carried out in accordance with the Regulations of the University of Bristol. This work is original except where indicated by special reference in the text and no part of the dissertation has been submitted for any other degree.

Any views expressed in the dissertation are those of the author and in no way represent those of the University of Bristol.

The dissertation has not been presented to any other University for examination either in the United Kingdom or overseas.

SIGNED:

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to be 'P. H. ...', written over a horizontal line.

DATE:

10 March 1999

# CONTENTS

<b>PREFACE:</b> .....	<b>1</b>
<b>THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY</b> .....	<b>3</b>
THE TRAVELLING MONK : BASIL GRIGOROVICH BARSKII .....	9
THE SCHOLARLY CONSUL: ALEXANDER DRUMMOND.....	20
THE CONNOISSEUR AND COLLECTOR : JOHN SKIPPE.....	26
THE ROMANTIC DRAUGHTSMAN : LOUIS FRANCOIS CASSAS.....	30
THE NATURALISTS : FERDINAND BAUER, DR. SIBTHORP AND JOHN HAWKINS.....	43
A SPANISH VISITOR : JOSE MORENO .....	54
UNDER BRITISH PATRONAGE : LUIGI MAYER.....	55
IN SEARCH OF VENUS : ALI BEY.....	61
THE INTELLIGENCE OFFICERS : WILLIAM MARTIN LEAKE AND HENRY LIGHT.....	68
<b>CONCLUSION</b> .....	<b>72</b>
<b>THE EARLY NINETEENTH CENTURY</b> .....	<b>77</b>
ANTIQUARIANS/ARCHAEOLOGISTS OR SCIENTISTS .....	83
THE PROFESSIONAL ARTISTS .....	92
AN INSPIRED DIPLOMAT .....	105
THE MISSIONARIES .....	110
A QUEEN REMEMBERED .....	114
<b>THE LAST YEARS OF OTTOMAN RULE</b> .....	<b>118</b>
THE DISCERNING VISITORS.....	121
THE FIRST ETHNOGRAPHERS .....	126
A BASHFUL ARTIST .....	137
PAINTING THE EXOTIC AND PICTURESQUE.....	140
FASCINATED BY THE LIGHT .....	146
THE MONARCH OF ALL, I SURVEY .....	150
<b>THE ARRIVAL OF THE BRITISH</b> .....	<b>153</b>
PRESENTING THE NEW ACQUISITION.....	153
THE MEN WHO RULED .....	162
IN THE CYPRUS CIVIL SERVICE .....	174
BEING ONE OF THEM .....	176
DOMESTICATING THE LANDSCAPE .....	178
FREE FROM POLITICAL BIAS?.....	179
TRAVELLING IN STYLE .....	185
AN ODE TO THE LOST KINGDOM .....	187
DR. SCHLIEMAN OF CYPRUS .....	189
AND MANY MORE.....	191
<b>CONCLUSION</b> .....	<b>194</b>
<b>THE COLONIAL PERIOD</b> .....	<b>201</b>
THE FIRST GREEKS.....	206
A SWISS DIGGING AND TEACHING IN CYPRUS .....	208
ART FOR COMMERCIAL PURPOSES.....	209
THE KYRENIA COLONY.....	216
GENDER AND ART.....	220

THE “ISRAEL” DEPORTATION CAMP ..... 227

FOR THE LOVE OF ART ..... 229

ART FOR PROPAGANDA..... 231

THE RISE OF NATIONALISM..... 237

CONCLUSION..... 241

APPENDIX ..... 244

BIBLIOGRAPHY ..... 265



## ILLUSTRATIONS

The titles when inscribed by the artists are in italics; titles in parenthesis are direct translations to help the reader. Otherwise the titles are those given by the owners or by which the work is best identified. The dates in italics are inscribed on the illustrations; otherwise the illustrations are dated by reference and approximation. Whenever possible the location of the art piece is stated.

1. F. J. Salmon: Map of Cyprus. Issued by the Land Registry & Surveys Cyprus, 1932/9. Private collection. 309
2. Basil Gregorovich Barskii: Monastery of Saint John Lampadistes, 1735 Barskii MS fol. 125r. 310
3. Basil Gregorovich Barskii: Monastery of the Mother of God of Sindy, 1735, Barskii MS fol. 131r. 311
4. Basil Gregorovich Barskii: *Ο Άγιος Γεώργιος ο Πιγιάτης* ( The Imperial Saint George), 1735, Barskii MS fol. 128r 312
5. Basil Gregorovich Barski: *Αγία Βαρβάρα, μετόχιον* (Monastery of the Holy Cross, from the northwest, with Saint Barbara metochion), 1727, Barskii MS fol. 177v. 313
6. Basil Gregorovich Barskii: Monastery of the Mother of God Trikoukkia, 1735, Barskii MS fol. 124r. 314
7. Basil Gregorovich Barskii: Nicosia, 1727, Barskii MS fol. 173r. 315
8. Basil Gregorovich Barskii: Famagusta, 1730, Barskii MS fol. 238r. 316
9. Basil Gregorovich Barskii: Larnaca and Alikas, 1727, Barskii MS fol. 173v. 317

10. Basil Gregorovich Barskii: The Monastery of Saint Neophytos, 1735, Barskii, 1735, MS fol. 134r. 318
11. Basil Gregorovich Barskii: Monastery of Saint Herakleidios, 1735, Barskii MS fol.130r. 319
12. Basil Gregorovich Barskii: *Ο Άγιος Χρυσόστομος, η Αγία Τριάς* (Monastery of Saint John Chrysostomos), 1735, Barskii MS. fol.132r. 320
13. Cornelius van Bruyn: St. Chrysostom, 1725, from the book A voyage to the Levant. 321
14. Basil Gregorovich Barskii: Monastery of Saint Mamas, 1727, Barskii MS fol. 176v. 322
15. Basil Gregorovich Barskii: *λαβουδερά* (Lagoudera), Monastery of the Mother of God Arakou, 1735 Barskii MS fol. 135r. 323
16. Basil Gregorovich Barskii: *ο Αρχάγγελος της Λακατάμιας*, (The Archangel of Lakatamia), 1735, Barskii MS fol. 129r. 324
17. Alexander Drummond: *The Great Tarantula*, 1750, from the book Travels through different Cities of Germany, Italy...and parts of Asia. 325
18. Alexander Drummond: Tombstone, 1750, from the book Travels through different Cities of Germany, Italy...and parts of Asia. 326
19. Alexander Drummond: *Church of St. Mamas at Morphou*, 1750, from the book Travels through different Cities of Germany, Italy...and parts of Asia. 327
20. Alexander Drummond: *South East Front of Agios Largos or St. Hilarion*, 1750, from the book Travels through different Cities of Germany, Italy...and parts of Asia. 328
21. Alexander Drummond: *South view of Buffavento Castle or Queen's Palace*, 1750, from the book Travels through different Cities of Germany, Italy...and parts of Asia. 329
22. Alexander Drummond: *The North View of the Grand Commandery Dela Pays*, 1750, from the book Travels through different Cities of Germany, Italy...and parts of Asia. 330

23. Alexander Drummond: *West View of Cantara Castle*, 1750, from the book Travels through different Cities of Germany, Italy...and parts of Asia. 331
24. Alexander Drummond: *Church of Kanakarga*, 1750, from the book Travels through different Cities of Germany, Italy...and parts of Asia. 332
25. John Skippe: *Larnaca in the Island of Cyprus*, c. 1760. Cyprus Archaeological Museum, Nicosia. 333
26. John Skippe: *Baffo- ancient Papho in the Island of Cyprus*, c. 1760. Cyprus Archaeological Museum, Nicosia. 334
27. John Skippe: *Dilbo*, c.1760. Cyprus Archaeological Museum, Nicosia. 335
28. Louis François Cassas: *Vue du cloître de l'abbaye de Bellapais*, 1785, Musée des Beaux-Arts, Tours. 336
29. Louis François Cassas: *Vue partielle prise de l'interieur d'un bastion*, (Nicosia), 1785. Private collection. 337
30. Louis François Cassas: *Famagouste*, 1785. Private collection. 338
31. Louis François Cassas: *Vue générale de Larnaca*, 1785. Private collection. 339
32. Lemaitre - after Cassas: *Couvent de Casa fumien*, 1853, from the book Iles de la Grèce 340
33. Lemaitre - after Cassas: *Couvent de Casa fumien*, 1853, from the book Iles de la Grèce 341
34. Lemaitre - after Cassas: *Mosquée a Famagouste*, 1853, from the book Iles de la Grèce 342
35. Lemaitre - after Cassas: *Ruines et Rochers*, 1853, from the book Iles de la Grèce 343
36. Lemaitre - after Cassas: *Couvent de Casa fumien*, 1853, from the book Iles de la Grèce 344



37.	Lemaitre - after Cassas: Nicosie, 1853, from the book <u>Iles de la Grèce</u>	345
38.	Lemaitre - after Cassas: Famagouste, 1853, from the book <u>Iles de la Grèce</u>	346
39.	Lemaitre - after Cassas: Les cent et une Maisons, 1853, from the book <u>Iles de la Grèce</u>	347
40.	Louis François Cassas: <i>Portion du Rocher, dit Youz Bir Euv ou les Cent une Maisons</i> , 1785, from the book <u>Voyage Pittoresque de la Syrie,...et de la Basse Egypte.</u>	348
41.	Louis François Cassas: <i>Cérine, ville située sur la côte septentrionale de l'île de Chypre</i> , 1785, <u>from the book Voyage Pittoresque de la Syrie,... et de la Basse Egypte.</u>	349
42.	Louis François Cassas: <i>Vue d'une Mosquée, de Famagouste, en Chypre</i> , 1785, from the book <u>Voyage Pittoresque de la Syrie,...et de la Basse Egypte.</u>	350
43.	Louis François Cassas: <i>Vue de Larnaca prise du côté de la maison consulaire des Vénitiens</i> , 1785, from the book <u>Voyage Pittoresque de la Syrie, ...et de la Basse Egypte.</u>	351
44.	Louis François Cassas: <i>Vue des Ruines du Monastère de Cazzfone Chypre</i> , 1785. Private collection.	352
45.	Louis François Cassas: <i>Ruines du Monastère de Cozzafani</i> , 1785. Private collection.	353
46.	Ferdinand Bauer: <i>View of Ipsora a village in the I: Cyprus</i> , 1787. Plants and Science Library of the Botany dept. University of Oxford.	354
47.	Ferdinand Bauer: <i>View of the Monastery of the Holy Cross upon Monte Croce in the I. Cyprus</i> , 1787. Plants and Science Library of the Botany dept. University of Oxford.	355
48.	Ferdinand Bauer: <i>View of Monte Croce in the Isle of Cyprus - from the South</i> , 1787. Plants and Science Library of the Botany dept. University of Oxford.	356
49.	John Hawkins: Mountains of Troodos range, 1787. West Sussex County Record Office.	357



50. John Hawkins: Mountain range, 1787. West Sussex County Record Office. 358
51. Ferdinand Bauer: *Nigella Arvensis*, c.1787. Plants and Science Library of the Botany dept. University of Oxford 359
52. Ferdinand Bauer: *Phoeniceum*, c.1787. Plants and Science Library of the Botany dept. University of Oxford 360
53. Ferdinand Bauer: *Glancium violaceum*, c.1787. Plants and Science Library of the Botany dept. University of Oxford 361
54. Ferdinand Bauer: *Corydalic rutifolia*, c.1787. Plants and Science Library of the Botany dept. University of Oxford 362
55. Ferdinand Bauer: *Bunias terrisfolia*, c.1787. Plants and Science Library of the Botany dept. University of Oxford 363
56. Ferdinand Bauer: *Lepidium spinosum*, c.1787. Plants and Science Library of the Botany dept. University of Oxford. 364
57. Jose Moreno: Map of the Bay of Larnaca, c.1788. The Bank of Cyprus Cultural Foundation. 365
58. Luigi Mayer: *Antique Fragments at Limisso*, 1792, from the book Views in the Ottoman Dominions. 366
59. Luigi Mayer: *A colossal vase near Limisso in Cyprus*, 1792, from the book Views in the Ottoman Dominions. 367
60. Luigi Mayer: *The Thermae with Piscinae in the neighbourhood of the town of Limassol, the ancient Amathunta in the Island of Cyprus*, 1792. Private collection. 368
61. Luigi Mayer: *Roadstead in the Island of Cyprus, showing the ramparts of Amathunta and the town of Limassol*, 1792. Private collection. 369
62. Ali Bey el Abbassi: Tochni, 1806, from the book The travels of Ali Bey in Africa and Asia. 370
63. Ali Bey el Abbassi: The Palace of the Queen, 1806, from the book The travels of Ali Bey in Africa and Asia. 371

64. Ali Bey el Abbassi: Yeroskipou, 1806, from the book The travels of Ali Bey in Africa and Asia. 372
65. Ali Bey el Abbassi: Flowers, 1806, from the book The travels of Ali Bey in Africa and Asia. 373
66. Ali Bey el Abbassi: Couclia, 1806, from the book The travels of Ali Bey in Africa and Asia. 374
67. Ali Bey el Abbassi: St. Tychon, 1806, from the book The travels of Ali Bey in Africa and Asia. 375
68. Ali Bey el Abbassi: Vase of Amathus, 1806, from the book The travels of Ali Bey in Africa and Asia. 376
69. Ali Bey el Abbassi: Catacombs at Paphos, 1806, from the book The travels of Ali Bey in Africa and Asia. 377
70. William Leake: Map of Cyprus, 1800, from the book Travels in Various Countries of the East 378
71. Henry Light: *The convent of St Thecla*, 1814, from the book Travels in Egypt, Nubia,...and Cyprus in the year 1814. 379
72. Henry Light: *Part of Larnica Cyprus*, 1814, from the book Travels in Egypt, Nubia,...and Cyprus in the year 1814. 380
73. Henry Light: *View on Salt Lake at Cyprus*, 1814, from the book Travels in Egypt, Nubia,...and Cyprus in the year 1814. 381
74. J. von Hammer-Purgstall: St. Tychon Church, 1811, from the book Topographische Ansichten gesammelt auf einer Reise in die Levante. 382
75. Karl Ritter: Vase of Amathus, 1845, from the book Reisen nach Kos Halikarnassos, Rhodos und der Insel Cypern. 383
76. Edmond Duthoit, (after): Vase d' Amathonte, 1862, from L'Illustration 384
77. Joseph Seebot: Vase d'Amathonte, 1859, from the book Die Insel Cypern 385
78. Otto von Richter: *Das St.Chrysostomus Kloster auf Cypern*, 1816. Tartu State Historical Archives. 386

79.	Otto von Richter: <i>Bufavento ad. Rianeh auf Cypern, 1816.</i> Tartu State Historical Archives.	387
80.	Eugene Bottazzi: <i>Nicosie, 1821.</i> Private Collection.	388
81.	Francis Arundale: <i>The Mosque at Famagusta Cyprus, c.1833.</i> Private collection	389
82.	Francis Arundale: <i>Ruins at Famagusta, c.1833.</i> V&A, The Rodney Searight Collection.	390
83.	Anon: <i>Street Scene (Famagusta), c.1834.</i> City of Athens Museum	391
84.	Anon: <i>Courtyard with camels in Larnaca, c. 1834.</i> City of Athens Museum.	392
85.	Antonio Schranz: <i>The Scala of Larnaca, Cipro, 1837.</i> Private collection.	393
86.	Antonio Schranz: <i>Nicosia, 1837,</i> Private collection.	394
87.	Antonio Schranz: <i>Monastery of Eispropharouso near the village of Bel Paese, Cyrene, Cyprus, 1837.</i> Private collection.	395
88.	Antoine Montfort: <i>Chypre, sur une montagne, construction ruinée à coupole, 1827</i> Dept. of Graphic Arts, Louvre Museum.	396
89.	Antoine Montfort: <i>Turc, les mains derrière le dos. 1827.</i> Dept. of Graphic Arts, Louvre Museum.	397
90.	Antoine Montfort: <i>Fumer vu de dos-deux études du dos, 1827.</i> Dept. of Graphic Arts, Louvre Museum.	398
91.	E.T.Daniells: <i>Larnaca from the sea, 1842.</i> British Museum.	399
92.	Henry Backhouse: <i>Cerini, 1842.</i> Private collection.	400
93.	Richard Dadd: <i>Marina, Larnaka Cyprus, c. 1842.</i> Victoria & Albert Museum, Print Room.	401



94. John Gardner Wilkinson: Larnaca from the Sea, 1844. Bodleian Library. 402
95. J. D. Harding: *Kittim*, c. 1835, from the book Illustrations from the Biblical Landscapes. 403
96. William H. Bartlett: *Larneca*, c. 1830, from the book Life and Epistles of St. Paul. 404
97. Benjamin Mary: *George Savas chypriote colonel au service Grec, 1844*. Private collection. 405
98. Benjamin Mary: *Le cadi de Larnaca, île de Chypre, 1844*. Private collection. 406
99. Benjamin Mary: *Evêque Grec de l'île de Chypre, 1844*. Private collection. 407
100. Benjamin Mary: *à Larnaca, 1844*. Private collection. 408
101. Benjamin Mary: *à Famagouste ile de Chypre, 1844*. Private collection. 409
102. Anon: *Cyprus*, c. 1840. Private collection. 410
103. Lorenzo Warriner Pease: *Mountain of the Holy Cross from the mission*, c.1836. The Burke Library, Union Theological Seminary, New York. 411
104. Lorenzo Warriner Pease: *Mountain from Alethrico*, c. 1836. The Burke Library, Union Theological Seminary, New York. 412
105. Lorenzo Warriner Pease: *Macheras from Scala*, c.1836. The Burke Library, Union Theological Seminary, New York. 413
106. Lorenzo Warriner Pease: *The priest's house*, c.1836. The Burke Library, Union Theological Seminary, New York. 414
107. F. Zannetti: *Caterina Cornaro sposa per procura Jacopo Lusignano Re di Cipro*, 1854, (Caterina Cornaro, marries by proxy James Lusignan, King of Cyprus), from the book Storia Veneta 415



108. F. Zannetti: *Jacopo Lusignano re di Cipro, morendo, raccomanda il regno e la di lui moglie Caterina Cornaro, alla Repubblica di Venezia*, 1854, (James Lusignan, King of Cyprus, at his death bed, recommends to Caterina Cornaro to give his Kingdom to the Venetian Republic) from the book Storia Veneta. 416
109. F. Zannetti: *Caterina Cornaro, cede alla Repubblica il regno di Cipro*, 1854, (Caterina Cornaro cedes the Kingdom of Cyprus to the Republic) from the book Storia Veneta. 417
110. F. Zannetti: *Petro Bizani e Bernando Polani tentano do arrestare I fuggitivi dalle mura di Nicosia*, 1854, (Petro Bizani and Bernando Polani try to arrest the fugitives from the walls of Nicosia) from the book Storia Veneta. 418
111. F. Zannetti: *I vecchi, le donne, I fanciulli ed I feriti, accorrono titti in difesa delle cadenti mura di Famagosta*, 1854, ( the old, the women, the children and the wounded run, all in defence of the falling walls of Famagusta) From the book Storia Veneta 419
112. F. Zannetti: *Martirio di Marc'Antonio Bragadino comamdante di Famagosta*, 1854, (the martyrdom of Marc Antonio Bragadino, commander of Famagusta) from the book Storia Veneta. 420
113. Francesco Hayez: *Giorgio Cornaro inviato a Cipro dalla Repubblica di Venezia, fa conoscere a Caterina Cornaro, sua parente, che essa non e piu padrona del perche lo stendardo del leone sventola gia sulla fortezza dell' isola*, (Giorgio Cornaro, sent to Cyprus by the Venetian Republic, tells Caterina Cornaro, a relative of his, that she is no longer Queen because the flag of the Lion is already waving on top of the island's fortress.) 1842. Bergamo, Carrara Academy. 421
114. Carl Werner: *Departure of the Galley with of Caterina Cornaro, Queen of Cyprus from Venice*, 1865. Private collection. 422
115. Hans Makart: *The Court of Caterina Cornaro*, c. 1870. Berlin State Museum. 423
116. R. Cresci: *The Venetian Senate Invests Caterina Cornaro with the Sovereignty of Asolo*, c. 1870, Municipio Asolo. 424
117. Amadée Damour: *St Hilarion*, from Monde Illustré 1878. 425

118.	Amadée Damour: Tekke of Umm Haram, from <u>Monde Illustré 1878.</u>	426
119.	Amadée Damour: Larnaca, from <u>Monde Illustré 1878</u>	427
120.	Amadée Damour: Mount Olympus, from <u>Monde Illustré 1878.</u>	428
121.	Amadée Damour: Port of Paphos, from <u>Monde Illustré 1878.</u>	429
122.	Amadée Damour: View of Famagusta, from <u>Monde Illustré 1878.</u>	430
123.	Amadée Damour: View of Nicosia, from <u>Monde Illustré 1878.</u>	431
124.	Amadée Damour: Cape Greco, 1853, from <u>Monde Illustré 1878.</u>	432
125.	Amadée Damour: <i>Vue de Nicosie, capitale de Chypre, et de la Chaîne de Cérines</i> , 1853, from the book <u>Geologie de l'île de Chypre.</u>	433
126.	Amadée Damour: <i>Panorama de la chaîne des monts Olympes, vu du village de Cato Dicomio à la base des montagnes de Cérines</i> , 1853, from the book <u>Geologie de l'île de Chypre.</u>	434
127.	Amadée Damour: <i>Chambres taillées dans les calcaires grossiers du cordon littoral de Cérines</i> , 1853, from the book <u>Géologie de l'île de Chypre.</u>	435
128.	Joseph Seebot: Prodromos, 1859, from the book <u>Die Insel Cypern.</u>	436
129.	Joseph Seebot: Houses at Prodromos, 1859, from the book <u>Die Insel Cypern.</u>	437
130.	Joseph Seebot: Bufavento Mountain, 1859, from the book <u>Die Insel Cypern.</u>	438
131.	Anon: Famagosta Gate, 1854, from <u>The Home Friend.</u>	439

132.	Anon: Nicosia, 1854, from <u>The Home Friend</u> .	440
133.	Anon: Girl in Garden, 1854, from <u>The Home Friend</u> .	441
134.	Grasset d'Orcet (after): <i>Types et Moeurs, La Fete de Venus a Larnaka</i> , c. 1860, from <u>Monde Illustré 1878</u> .	442
135.	Grasset d' Orcet (after): <i>Les vendanges dans l'île de Chypre- aspect d'une Phenecha</i> , c.1860, from <u>Monde Illustré 1878</u> .	443
136.	Grasset d' Orcet: <i>Le vin de Chypre-le pressoir</i> , c. 1860, from <u>Monde Illustré</u> .	444
137.	Grasset d' Orcet (after): <i>Le vin de Chypre- les Cuves</i> , c.1860, from <u>Monde Illustré 1878</u>	445
138.	Grasset d' Orcet (after): <i>La danse nuptiale à Salamis</i> , c. 1860 from <u>Monde Illustré 1878</u>	446
139.	Edmond Duthoit: <i>Amathus</i> , 1862. Musée de Picardie, Amiens.	447
140.	Edmond Duthoit: <i>Famagusta</i> , 1862. Musée de Picardie, Amiens	448
141.	Edmond Duthoit: <i>Capitals and Columns</i> , 1862. Musée de Picardie, Amiens.	449
142.	Edmond Duthoit: <i>Column and capitals</i> , 1862. Musée de Picardie, Amiens.	450
143.	Edmond Duthoit: <i>Αλώνια Αθηαίνου</i> , (threshing at Athienou) 1862. Musée de Picardie, Amiens.	451
144.	Edmond Duthoit: <i>Un Cimitière Turc à Nicosie</i> , (a Turkish cemetery in Nicosia), 1862 Musée de Picardie, Amiens.	452
145.	Edmond Duthoit: <i>le Sérail à Nicosie</i> , 1862. Musée de Picardie, Amiens.	453
146.	Edmond Duthoit: <i>Nicosie</i> , 1862. Musée de Picardie, Amiens.	454



147.	Edmond Duthoit: <i>Famagouste, 1862</i> . Musée de Picardie, Amiens.	455
148.	Edmond Duthoit: <i>Famagouste, 1862</i> . Musée de Picardie, Amiens.	456
149.	Edmond Duthoit: <i>Περιστερώνα</i> (Peristerona village), 1862. Musée de Picardie, Amiens.	457
150.	Edmond Duthoit: Kykko Monastery, 1862. Musée de Picardie, Amiens.	458
151.	Edmond Duthoit: Kykko Monastery, 1862. Musée de Picardie, Amiens.	459
152.	Edmond Duthoit: <i>Palaipaphos, 1862</i> . Musée de Picardie, Amiens.	460
153.	Edmond Duthoit: <i>Soli, 1862</i> . Musée de Picardie, Amiens.	461
154.	Edmond Duthoit: Water-pitchers, 1862. Musée de Picardie, Amiens.	462
155.	Edmond Duthoit: <i>Dali, 1862</i> . Musée de Picardie, Amiens.	463
156.	Edmond Duthoit: <i>Χύτροι, 1862</i> . Musée de Picardie, Amiens.	464
157.	Edmond Duthoit: Oxen, 1862. Musée de Picardie, Amiens.	465
158.	Edmond Duthoit: Woman standing, men sitting, 1862 Musée de Picardie, Amiens.	466
159.	Edmond Duthoit: Frescoes, 1862. Musée de Picardie, Amiens.	467
160.	Edmond Duthoit: <i>Canon Venetien et son..., 1862</i> . Musée de Picardie, Amiens.	468
161.	Edmond Duthoit: <i>Eglise de St. Sophie, mosquée actuelle, Famagouste, 1862</i> . Musée de Picardie, Amiens.	469



162. Edmond Duthoit: *Παναγία της Χρυσορροιάτισσα*, (Virgin of Chrysorogiatissa), 1862. Musée de Picardie, Amiens. 470
163. Edmond Duthoit: Monastery of Chrysorogiatissa, 1862. Musée de Picardie, Amiens. 471
164. Edmond Duthoit: *Ακακι*. (Akaki village) 1862. Musée de Picardie, Amiens. 472
165. Edmond Duthoit: *Dali*, 1862. Musée de Picardie, Amiens. 473
166. Edmond Duthoit: The reaper, 1862. Musée de Picardie, Amiens. 474
167. Edmond Duthoit: Man with moustache, 1862. Musée de Picardie, Amiens. 475
168. Edmond Duthoit: Turk, 1862. Musée de Picardie, Amiens. 476
169. Edmond Duthoit: Monastery of Macheras, 1862. Musée de Picardie, Amiens. 477
170. Edmond Duthoit: Kykko Monastery, 1862. Musée de Picardie, Amiens. 478
171. Edmond Duthoit: *Boufavento*, 1865. Private collection. 479
172. Edmond Duthoit: *Καντάρα*, (Cantara) 1865. Private collection. 480
173. Edmond Duthoit: *Kantara*, 1865. Private collection. 481
174. Edmond Duthoit: Boufavento, 1865. Private collection. 482
175. Edmond Duthoit: Boufavento, 1865. Private collection. 483
176. Hercules Brabazon Brabazon: *Castle in Cyprus*, c. 1860. Private collection. 484

177. Hercules Brabazon Brabazon: *Carascene*, c. 1860. Private collection. 485
178. Hercules Brabazon Brabazon: *Famagusta*, c. 1860. Private collection. 486
179. Archduke Louis Salvador: *Levkosia*, 1873, from the book Levkosia the capital of Cyprus. 487
180. Archduke Louis Salvador: View of Levkosia from the town wall, 1873, from the book Levkosia the capital of Cyprus. 488
181. Archduke Louis Salvador: *Bazar-Brunnen*, 1873, from the book Levkosia the capital of Cyprus. 489
182. Archduke Louis Salvador: *Yegni Djami*, 1873, from the book Levkosia the capital of Cyprus. 490
183. Archduke Louis Salvador: *Halle eines Privathouses*, 1873, from the book Levkosia the capital of Cyprus. 491
184. Archduke Louis Salvador: St. Sophia, 1873, from the book Levkosia the capital of Cyprus. 492
185. Archduke Louis Salvador: *Haidar Pascha Djami*, 1873, from the book Levkosia the capital of Cyprus. 493
186. Archduke Louis Salvador: *Portal des Baptisterium*, 1873, from the book Levkosia the capital of Cyprus. 494
187. Archduke Louis Salvador: *Die Venetianer Saule*, 1873, from the book Levkosia the capital of Cyprus. 495
188. Archduke Louis Salvador: *Die Tahta Gala vom Famagosta thor aus*, 1873, from the book Levkosia the capital of Cyprus. 496
189. Archduke Louis Salvador: *Haus der Tripiotis Gasse*, 1873, from the book Levkosia the capital of Cyprus. 497
190. Archduke Louis Salvador: *Bejuk Khan*, 1873, from the book Levkosia the capital of Cyprus. 498
191. Hermann Solomom Corrodi: Larnaka auf Zypern, c. 1877. Private collection. 499

192. Luigi Palma di Cesnola: Larnaca, c. 1870, from the book Cyprus, its ancient Cities, Tombs and Temples 500
193. Luigi Palma di Cesnola: View of Curium, c. 1870, from the book Cyprus, its ancient Cities, Tombs and Temples 501
194. Luigi Palma di Cesnola: Modern priest, c. 1870, from the book Cyprus, its ancient Cities, Tombs and Temples. 502
195. Luigi Palma di Cesnola: Simeon the Hermit, c. 1870, from the book Cyprus, its ancient Cities, Tombs and Temples. 503
196. Luigi Palma di Cesnola: Inside of the tomb, c. 1870, from the book Cyprus, its ancient Cities, Tombs and Temples. 504
197. Alexander Palma di Cesnola: Larnaca, c. 1878, from the book Salaminia. 505
198. Anon: Reception of a deputation, Trikomo, 1878, from The Illustrated London News. 506
199. Richard Coveny: The British Kaimakam hearing an assault case at Heptakhumi, 1878, from The I.L.N. 507
200. Anon: Cyprus: Sir Garnet Wolseley holding a reception in the Konak, Nicosia, at the Turkish festival of Bairam, 1878, from The I.L.N. 508
201. Anon: Village of Khumi Kebir, Cyprus, with Carpas mountains, 1878, from The I.L.N. 509
202. Anon: St Sophia, Nicosia, 1878, from The I.L.N. 510
203. G.H.Lane: Bazaar at Larnaca, 1878, from The Graphic. 511
204. Samuel Pasfield Oliver: Greek priests blessing the British flag at Nicosia, 1878. Cambridge University Library, The Cobham Collection. 512
205. Donisthorpe Donne: *A Greek peasant on the Limassol works, 1881*. Private collection. 513
206. Donisthorpe Donne: *A Turkish Cypriot worker, 1881*. Private collection. 514



207. Donisthorpe Donne: *Imbrahim Mustapha, Cyprus Pioneer regiment, Limassol works, 1881* Private collection. 515
208. Donisthorpe Donne: *Cyprus Pioneers, Limassol, 1881*. Private collection. 516
209. Hugh Sinclair: *Bella Pais, 1878*. Private collection. 517
210. Hugh Sinclair: *Agia Varvara, 1878*. Private collection. 518
211. Hugh Sinclair: *Agios Synesios, Rizokarpasso, 1878*. Private collection. 519
212. Hugh Sinclair: *Mosque of Umm Haram, 1878*. Private collection. 520
213. Reginald Barrows Rudyerd: *Camp of the 1<sup>st</sup> York Regiment Troodos, 1888*. Private collection. 521
214. Reginald Barrows Rudyerd: *The artist's tent, Troodos, 1888*. Private collection. 522
215. Reginald Barrows Rudyerd: *View from Mount Troodos, 1888*. Private collection. 523
216. Reginald Barrows Rudyerd: *Platris, 1888*. Private collection. 524
217. Reginald Barrows Rudyerd: *Government House, Troodos, 1888*. Private collection. 525
218. Reginald Barrows Rudyerd: *Café Platris, 1888*. Private collection. 526
219. Reginald Barrows Rudyerd: *Woman spinning cotton, Kikopatria, 1888*. Private collection. 527
220. Reginald Barrows Rudyerd: *Kikopatria, 1888*. Private collection. 528
221. Reginald Barrows Rudyerd: *The monastery of Khiko, 1888*. Private collection. 529

222. Reginald Barrows Rudyerd: *The monastery of Troaditissa, 1888*. Private collection. 530
223. Reginald Barrows Rudyerd: *Boat, 1888*. Private collection. 531
224. William Williams: *The Konak, 1887*. Cyprus Museum, The Dragoman's House, Nicosia. 532
225. William Hawkins: *St Nicolas Cathedral, 1878*. Private collection. 533
226. William Hawkins: *Troodos, 1878*. Private collection. 534
227. William Hawkins: *Fire, 1878*. Private collection. 535
228. Ann Villiers: *Government House Nicosia, 1898*. Private collection. 536
229. Ann Villiers: *From my bedroom window, 1898*. Private collection. 537
230. Ann Villiers: *Government House, Troodos, 1898*. Private collection. 538
231. William Collyer: *Government House, Troodos, 1886*. Private collection. 539
232. Tristram Ellis: *At the Marina, Larnaca, 1878*. Private collection. 540
233. Tristram Ellis: *The Marina Larnaca from the Konak pier, 1878*. Private collection. 541
234. Tristram Ellis: *The artist's mules in a rich Cypriot's home, 1879*. Private collection. 542
235. Tristram Ellis: *The walls of Nicosia, 1878*. Private collection. 543
236. A.Y. Bingham: *Arrival in Camp, 1878*, from the book Sunshine and Storm in the East. 544

237. A.Y.Bingham: *Meeting Sir Garnet Wolseley*, 1878, from the book Sunshine and Storm in the East. 545
238. A.Y.Bingham: *Kind Attentions*, 1878, from the book Sunshine and Storm in the East. 546
239. Camille Enlart: West end and belfry, 1896, from the book Gothic Art and the Renaissance in Cyprus. 547
240. Camille Enlart: Asomatos church interior, 1896, from the book Gothic Art and the Renaissance in Cyprus. 548
241. Camille Enlart: Ruined house between St.Sophia and Augustinians, 1896, from the book Gothic Art and the Renaissance in Cyprus. 549
242. Camille Enlart: Kantara Castle from south-east, 1896, from the book Gothic Art and the Renaissance in Cyprus. 550
243. Camille Enlart: Chrysopolitissa, Kyrenia, 1896, from the book Gothic Art and the Renaissance in Cyprus. 551
244. Sidney Vacher: Interior of first floor of Keep., 1882. From the book The Gothic Art and the Renaissance in Cyprus 552
245. Sidney Vacher: *Remains at Paphos*, 1882. RIBA Drawings Collection 553
246. Sidney Vacher: *Cythrea*, 1882. RIBA drawings collection. 554
247. Max Ohnefalsch Richter: *Im Weinbau districte des cyprischen Hochgebirges bei Kyperundha* (Vineyard area in the Cyprus mountains next to Kyperounda) 1882. Cyprus Popular Bank collection. 555
248. Max Ohnefalsch Richter: *Cypern*, 1881. Private collection. 556
249. Anon: Ayia Irene, 1879. Private collection. 557
250. George Smith: *Rooftops in Nicosia*, 1878. Private collection. 558



251.	Anon: St. Sophia, c. 1878. Private collection.	559
252.	Anon: Street in Kyrenia, c. 1880. Private collection.	560
253.	I. L. Wilson: <i>The Tekee of Umm Haram</i> , c. 1880. Private collection.	561
254.	Henry G. White: <i>Famagusta</i> , 1879. Private collection.	562
255.	Anon: Limassol, 1878. Private collection.	563
256.	Frederick Vigers: Omerye Mosque, c. 1880. Private collection.	564
257.	Emmanuel Avgoustos: Demosthenis Severis, c. 1915. Private collection.	565
258.	Apostolos Yeralis: The port of Paphos, c. 1910. Private collection.	566
259.	Michael Koufos: <i>Limassol 1900</i> , 1900. Isotis Club, Limassol.	567
260.	Jacques Georges Demeules: Old woman, c. 1924. Private collection.	568
261.	Jacques Georges Demeules: Priest, c. 1924. Private collection.	569
262.	Jacques Georges Demeules: <i>St Nicholas, Famagusta</i> , c. 1934. Private collection.	570
263.	Jacques Georges Demeules: Pedhoulas village, 1945. Private collection.	571
264.	H. W. Seton-Karr: <i>Ruined Castle of Hilarion 2000 ft. above Kyrenia Cyprus, built before 1228</i> , 1921. Cyprus Archaeological Museum.	572
265.	H. W. Seton- Karr: <i>On the coast near Baffo, Cyprus</i> , 1921. Private collection.	573

266.	Poster: Buy Cyprus Cigarettes. Private collection.	574
267.	Poster: Our Allies the Colonies. Private collection.	575
268.	Keith Henderson: Peristerona, c. 1928. Private collection.	576
269.	Keith Henderson: Famagusta, c. 1928. Private collection.	577
270.	Ethelbert White: Kyrenia, c. 1920. Private collection.	578
271.	Ethelbert White: Peristerona, c. 1920. Private collection.	579
272.	Ethelbert White: <i>The Cyprus coast</i> , c. 1920. Private collection.	580
273.	Photographs of Government House, 1936. Private collection	581
274.	Arthur Legge: <i>Kyrenia</i> , 1928. Private collection.	582
275.	Arthur Legge: <i>Friday Bazaar</i> , 1928. Private collection.	583
276.	Reginald Popham Nicholson: <i>Kutub Osman tekye</i> , 1928. Private collection.	584
277.	E.Balfour-Allan: <i>Abbey of Bella Paise- Kyrenia</i> , 1938. Private collection.	585
278.	John Codrington: <i>St. Nicholas Cathedral</i> , 1923. Private collection.	586
279.	Godfrey de Selincourt: Kyrenia, c. 1950. Private collection.	587
280.	Col. Pain: Street in Kyrenia, c. 1950. Private collection.	588

281.	Arnold Pearce: Village in Cyprus, c. 1950. Private collection.	589
282.	H. G. Gray: The cloisters, c. 1950. Private collection.	590
283.	H. G. Gray: Troodos mountains, c. 1950. Private collection.	591
284.	Cecil Arthur Hunt: <i>Aronas Nicosia, 1910</i> . Private collection.	592
285.	Sir Horloyd Pearce: <i>Kyrenia and St Hilarion</i> , c. 1930. Private collection.	593
286.	Gwendolyn Frere: <i>Kyrenia, 1901</i> . Private collection.	594
287.	Gwendolyn Frere: Church in Cyprus, 1901. Private collection.	595
288.	Gwendolyn Frere: <i>Kutchuk Kaimakli, 1902</i> . Private collection.	596
289.	Gladys Peto: <i>The mountain women wear their hair draped about with a black handkerchief- cottages below Amiandos</i> , 1926. Private collection.	597
290.	Gladys Peto: <i>The hours after dinner..while the moon shines through the trees and the moths flutter and fall round the hanging lamp</i> , 1926. Private collection.	598
291.	Gladys Peto: <i>A curious habit of patting you upon the cheek which is rather disconcerting</i> , 1926. Private collection.	599
292.	Marjorie Congreve: <i>The weaver</i> , c. 1935. Private collection.	600
293.	Marjorie Congreve: <i>The saddle maker</i> , c. 1935. Private collection.	601
294.	Marjorie Congreve: <i>The farrier</i> , c. 1935. Private collection.	602



295.	Marjorie Congreve: <i>The axeman</i> , c. 1935. Private collection.	603
296.	Marjorie Congreve: <i>The spindler</i> , c. 1935. Private collection.	604
297.	Marjorie Congreve: <i>The spinning wheel</i> , c. 1935. Private collection.	605
298.	Marjorie Congreve: Old woman by the fire, c. 1935. Private collection.	606
299.	Marjorie Congreve: Old woman and the spinning wheel, c. 1935. Private collection.	607
300.	Marjorie Congreve: The old Turk, c. 1935. Private collection.	608
301.	Marjorie Congreve: <i>Salt Lake Larnaca</i> , c. 1935. Private collection.	609
302.	Marjorie Congreve: Troodos, c. 1935. Private collection.	610
303.	Lady Chenevix Trench: Myrtou, c. 1938. Private collection.	611
304.	Lady Chenevix Trench: Kyrenia, c. 1938. Private collection.	612
305.	Arthur Legge: <i>Castle in Kyrenia</i> , 1933. Private collection	613
306.	Gladys Peto: <i>Kollossi Castle</i> , 1926. Private collection.	614
307.	Lady Chenevix Trench: <i>Bellapais Abbey, Kyrenia</i> , c. 1938. Private collection.	615
308.	Caterina Oules: Kyrenia, c. 1930. Private collection.	616
309.	Anon: Women in a tent, c. 1947. Private collection.	617

310.	Anon: Distribution of water, c. 1947. Private collection.	618
311.	Anon: Under the Hupa, c. 1947. Private collection.	619
312.	Anon: Studying the Torra, c. 1947. Private collection.	620
313.	Anon: Blessing the moon, c. 1947. Private collection.	621
314.	Anon: The Mikve, c. 1947. Private collection.	622
315.	Anon: News from Home, c. 1947. Private collection.	623
316.	David Bomberg: <i>Gate to the Princess's garden, St. Hilarion mountain, Cyprus, 1948.</i> Private collection.	624
317.	Zdzislaw Ruszkowski: Cyprus window, 1953. Private collection.	625
318.	John Everett: Street in Famagusta, 1950. Cyprus Archaeological Museum.	626
319.	John Everett: Church in Famagusta, 1950. Cyprus Archaeological Museum.	627
320.	John Everett: St. Nicolas Cathedral, 1950. Cyprus Archaeological Museum.	628
321.	John Everett: The Famagusta Cathedral, 1950. Cyprus Archaeological Museum.	629
322.	John Everett: The castle, 1950. Cyprus Archaeological Museum.	630
323.	John Everett: View of Famagusta, 1950. Cyprus Archaeological Museum.	631
324.	John Everett: Lone church, 1950. Cyprus Archaeological Museum.	632

325. John Everett: The archway, 1950. Cyprus Archaeological Museum. 633
326. John Everett: The ramparts, 1950. Cyprus Archaeological Museum. 634
327. John Everett: Street by the Cathedral, 1950. Cyprus Archaeological Museum. 635
328. Ernest Whatley: *The vineyards of Cyprus*, c. 1952. Private collection. 636
329. Frank Wootton: Poster: *Kyrenia Harbour, 1950*. Private collection. 637
330. Frank Wootton: *Kyrenia*, 1950. Private collection. 638
331. Frank Wootton: *Catholiki church at Couclia, 1950*. Private collection. 639
332. Frank Wootton: *St. Antypas church, Pyroi, 1950*. Private collection. 640
333. Olga Raouf: The courtyard c. 1930. Private collection. 641
334. Electra Megaw: Bunch of flowers, c. 1935. Private collection. 642
335. A. Ross-Thomas: Commissioner's house in Limassol, c. 1940. Private collection. 643
336. Dorine Van Oyen: *Rural chapels in the Troodos mountains, 1955*, from the Cyprus Review . 644
337. Dorine Van Oyen: *The slender bell towers of Cyprus, 1955*, from the Cyprus Review. 645
338. Jonathan Abrahams: *Ipplik Pazzari Mosque, 1955*, from the Cyprus Review. 646
339. Jonathan Abrahams: *The Khan of the Itinerant Musicians, 1955*, from the Cyprus Review. 647



340. Rosemary Grimble: *Travels among the Turks, 1956*, from the Cyprus Review. 648
341. Rosemary Grimble: *The Hodja and the Holy Book, 1955*, from the Cyprus Review. 649
342. Fay Nind: *Andonis Nicola of Omorphita, 1955*, from the Cyprus Review . 650
343. Fay Nind: *Hubble bubbles, symbols of repose, 1955*, from the Cyprus Review . 651
344. Pat Mullender: Lefkara lace, 1955, from the Cyprus Review 652
345. Fay Nind: Street vendors, 1955, from the Cyprus Review. 653
346. Fay Nind: Street vendors, 1955, from the Cyprus Review 654
347. Margot Rampton: *The Mukhtar, 1955*, from the Cyprus Review . 655
348. Athina Tarsouli: Costume, c. 1953, from the book Kypros. 656
349. Athina Tarsouli: Costume, c. 1953, from the book Kypros. 657
350. Athina Tarsouli: *Η Τριανταφυλλένη κοντά στον ετοιμοθάνατο αγαπημένο της*, (Triantafyleni, next to her dying lover), c. 1953, from the book Kypros. 658
351. Athina Tarsouli: *Η Παναγία του Κύκκου σκέπη και φρουρός της Κύπρου*, (the Virgin of Kykko, protector and guardian of Cyprus), c. 1953, from the book Kypros. 659
352. Athina Tarsouli: Textile design, c. 1953, from the book Kypros. 660
353. Mohammed Naghi: *Enosis*, c. 1955, Cairo Museum of Contemporary Art. 661

354.	Pol Georghiou: <i>Cypria saga</i> , 1956, collection: “The Artist”	662
355.	Pol Georghiou: <i>The Graves</i> , 1958. The Archbishopric of Cyprus.	663
356.	Christoforos Savva: <i>The Demonstration</i> , 1955. Private collection.	664
357.	Ioannis Kissonergis: <i>The old Archbishopric</i> , 1929, Private collection.	665
358.	Adamantios Diamantis: <i>Nicosia</i> , 1957. Private collection.	666
359.	Sigmund Pollizer: <i>Ahmet with the melon</i> , 1948. Private collection.	667
360.	Sigmund Pollitzer: <i>Chair</i> , c. 1948, from the <u>Cyprus Review</u> .	668
361.	Sigmund Pollitzer: <i>Cyprus Aeterna</i> , 1956. Cyprus House of Parliament.	669
362.	William Lionel Wyllie (front cover): <i>Larnaca</i> , 1893. Private collection.	670

## PREFACE

While looking at paintings of Cyprus of the past, I was struck by the fact that they represented a world that has changed dramatically and will never be the same again. This is the result first, of the rapid economic development that has taken place during the latter part of the twentieth century and second, of the Turkish invasion which has brought about changes in the demography and the cultural landscape of the island, especially in the northern part. Thus, my research was led into an attempt to acquaint myself with and understand the past as expressed through the visual representations of the country and its people

In my research, I introduce a body of works that has never before been collectively presented, studied or analysed; in fact most of the works have never been published or exhibited. They are illustrations by mainly European artists, professionals and amateurs who visited the island between 1700 and 1955. The dates chosen are based on the fact that before the eighteenth century the representations of Cyprus are very few and far between, not providing enough evidence from which to analyse and deduce information. The year 1955 was followed by a five-year period of political unrest on the island, which curtailed any serious endeavours of foreign artists. In 1960 Cyprus became independent and the country developed its own art world. I believe this was a good point at which to finish the research.

I will attempt to show how artists from different nationalities, at different times, and under different circumstances presented a variety of aspects of the island and its heritage. I will try to make obvious their perceptions of the landscape and the people, their prejudices and their understanding of the country. In this I also refer, whenever available, to their journals, books or notes and compare or make parallels with their artwork. I hope to show the extent to which these perceptions were influenced by the cultural background of the artists themselves and the political and social conditions prevailing at the time in their countries and in Cyprus. I hope to make apparent how far



these representations of the island are true and accurate or are imaginary and why.

An interesting panorama of Cyprus unfolds through these illustrations which involve concepts of romanticism, orientalism, imperialism, and colonialism. Along with these come the political and social developments on the island, and its people. Most important, Cyprus of the past, although to sight lost, through these illustrations will remain I hope, to memory dear.

## THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY

From antiquity to today, the island of Cyprus has been identified as the birthplace of Aphrodite, where she was worshipped, where her beloved Adonis died, where temples were erected in her name. Euripides linked Cyprus to the Greek world through language and their common mythology of religion.

*Where is the Home for me,  
Oh Cyprus set in the sea?  
Aphrodite's home in the soft sea-foam,  
Would I could wend to thee;<sup>1</sup>*

From 1192 till 1474 Cyprus was under the Latin rule of the Lusignans, given to them by Richard the Lionheart. Being the farthest Christian outpost of the West after the fall of Jerusalem and Acre to the Turks (1191 AD) and a crossroad of civilisations, Cyprus for almost four centuries lived through its most glorious times.

*Famagusta is the richest of all cities, and her citizens are the richest of men. A citizen once betrothed his daughter and the jewels of her head-dress were valued by the French knights as more precious than all the ornaments of the Queen of France.... In this city (Nicosia) are monasteries and places, of St. Francis to wit, of S. Dominic and S. Augustine, which are very large and fair, and each monastery has two cloisters with oranges and other fruit. Within the city are many gardens and orchards, and fields sown with green stuff, wheat and barley. In this city is abundance of bread and wine and the wine is generally sweet and is kept in large jars.<sup>2</sup>*

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<sup>1</sup> Euripides: Bacchae, ll. 400 sqq., as translated by Prof. Gilbert Murray and used in Sir Harry Luke's Cyprus, a Portrait and an Appreciation, Harrap, London 1965, p.14.

<sup>2</sup> Ludolf Von Suchen: De Terra Sancta et itinere Ihierosol 1350 vol. II, pp. 210-217. Nicolai De Martono: Notarii Liber Peregrinationis ad Loca Sancta 1394, translated by Claude Delaval Cobham: Excerpta Cypria, Cambridge University Press, 1908, p.20 and 26.

Descriptions, such as the above, were abundant in the writings of travellers who presented Cyprus as an Occidental island with strong French cultural affiliations.

In 1474, the island became part of the Venetian Empire, a mercantile Empire that took from and never gave to the island. The Venetian ships anchored at its ports, loaded its goods, the doges enriched their pockets with tax-proceeds and from that position Venice kept control over the Eastern Mediterranean. This lasted till 1571 when Cyprus fell to the Ottomans. The Venetians were defeated both at Nicosia and Famagusta and for the next three centuries Cyprus was under Ottoman rule.

During the sieges precious little survived the Turks' fury. The looting of houses was one thing but the looting of monasteries, churches and palaces was insurmountable. Money, silver, gold and jewellery were stolen; ecclesiastical vessels, robes, garments and furniture were taken. As is the Turkish tradition, all monuments and predominant buildings had to be islamised as soon as possible. Frescoes in churches were whitewashed, icons thrown out and minarets attached to the roofs. What now belonged to them should testify to its ownership.

The conquest of Cyprus by the Ottomans was lamented in the West for years to come. Poems were written, tragic descriptions of the savage sieges of Nicosia and Famagusta were circulated amongst Christian nations and desperate attempts were made to raise armies and funds to free Cyprus.<sup>3</sup> As time went by, Cyprus faded away, falling into the oblivious state of a godforsaken province of the Ottoman Empire. And as such it entered the eighteenth century.

This was the century of travel of the Grand Tour; a period in the history of Europe and the Mediterranean which brought both closer to each other through travel, while Christian nations bowed to the Moslem Ruler in the interest of finance and trade. The

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<sup>3</sup> Fra Angelo Calepio/Fra Etienne de Lusignan: Chorografia 1573, translated by C.D. Cobham, Excerpta Cypria pp. 122-162. Also C. D. Cobham: The sieges of Nicosia and Famagusta edited by Midgley's translation of Bishop Graziani's History of the War of Cyprus London, 1687, London: St. Vincent Press, 1899.



Mediterranean was under the control of the Lord of the Golden Horn. Turkey was still powerful in the eighteenth century and countries like Italy, France and England paid homage to the Sultan in exchange for trade privileges, safe passage to the Middle East and participation in the riches of those countries. The Levant Company, otherwise known as the Turkey Merchants, was already established in 1581 but relations between Turks and English trading in the Ottoman Empire often suffered and were abused, especially in the face of strong French opposition and the temperamental authority of local governors. To facilitate and secure its privileges, the Levant Company often paid the salaries of ambassadors to the Porte and other expenses on behalf of the State, such as the upkeep of the Embassies. Lavish gifts were offered to the Grand Signor; one remembers the famous organ specially made for Sultan Mohammed III by Thomas Dallam in 1599. Slowly, but steadily, England found its way and established herself securely at the Porte through delicate diplomacy, taking first place amongst other countries. Famous ambassadors, and some famous wives such as Lady Mary Wortley Montagu<sup>4</sup> brought to England the taste of the East and set the fashion for travelling and living amongst the Turks and Moslems. Young men and women set forth to broaden their horizons and further their education by exploring these distant lands. The Society of Dilettanti was formed. They aimed at visiting the antiquities of Italy, Greece and the Levant. Academics, botanists, scientists and historians boarded merchant ships and went to the Eastern Mediterranean to see, learn, and report back. It was the age of expansionism, colonialism and British supremacy at sea.

The *Grand Tour* travellers helped towards the widespread imposition of the language and culture of their country but also towards the process of industrialisation. Consciously or unconsciously they brought back to England their knowledge and discoveries in far away lands and their writings proved to be invaluable sources for developing trade, commerce and industry, and indeed for foreign policy. In fact many societies sprang up at the time, such as the Society for the Encouragement of Learning,

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<sup>4</sup> Lady Mary Wortley Montagu (1689-1762), wife of Edward Wortley Montagu lived for many years in Constantinople and upon her return to England, introduced the manners of the Turks to the British society and pioneered the smallpox inoculation that she had studied in Turkey. After her separation she pursued an Italian writer and went to live with him in Venice. She died in London and her Embassy Letters were published a year later.

to assist authors to publish expensive books, products of long travels in the Middle East. Often, scholars were accompanied by artists whose task was to produce a visual record of the voyage. Frequently artists were commissioned to travel alone in order to portray distant lands.

France was also active in the eighteenth century. But the Seven Years War resulted in France's loss of the upper hand both in India and America. Napoleon's campaign in Egypt left a sour taste with the Moslem leaders and England's naval supremacy forced France into a shrinking colonialism. While this "rivalry" between the European powers was going on, Cyprus was going through its dark ages.

The eighteenth century found Cyprus being ruled by the Grand Vezir who soon gave it to various Pashas. Whoever was the highest bidder got the island, paid an annual tribute to the Vezir and made money for his self through heavy taxation and by bleeding the country. The Pashas ruled tyrannically and were not concerned with the well being of the people, in fact they did not have direct contact with them, who, in turn, were represented by the Church. Between the Church and the Pasha was the dragoman who was responsible for the transmission of the orders of the ruler, or the requests of their subjects. The church played the role of the tax collector and guardian of the people's interests, rising thus into power. Then, as in most of Cyprus's history, discord often prevailed amongst the various bishops and the role assigned to them was not always put into beneficial use. Industry was non-existent, production at its lowest, trade very little and the people had lost all incentive for work as most of what they produced was devoured by the Pasha and the Church in taxes, or tributes.

The population suffered not only from the Turkish administration but also by a series of natural disasters, of which the most dramatic was the earthquake of 1741. Some years later, in 1757, due to drought and the locust, famine and death by starvation befell the island. Many people emigrated. In 1760 the plague wiped out one third of the population and large numbers fled the island once more.



Most of the Greek population found refuge in the mountains where they lived on bare necessities. In 1777 the Christian population on the island was about 37.000 and the Turkish population 47.000 as assessed by Kyprianos.<sup>5</sup> He added that the Turkish population was increasing because of special prerogatives given to Turkish militia who were allowed to settle after having served for a number of years as well as the change of faith by the Greeks in order to avoid heavy taxation.

A small community of Westerners lived in Larnaca, the main port of Cyprus at the time, where consuls of various nations looked after the interests of the merchant ships that anchored in the port and arranged for their safety. The Levant Company was installed in Cyprus officially since 1636 but in fact merchant ships were visiting Cyprus ports as early as 1511.<sup>6</sup> In 1693 Van Bruyn, a Dutch traveller, visited Larnaca and commented *that all European merchants were French, but an Englishman came to settle recently.*<sup>7</sup> Another Englishman, referred to often by travellers, as a merchant named Mr. Treadway, was a rich man who built the finest house in the Levant, at Larnaca.<sup>8</sup> Alexander Drummond in 1745 mentioned Neopolitan, Ragusan, Venetian Consuls and a small party of British subjects.<sup>9</sup> They occupied themselves with either consular duties, often restricted by the whims of each Turkish administrator, or were out to make their fortune on the band- wagon of the Middle Eastern trade route. The community had links with Aleppo and Alexandria, some with Cairo where probably the heads of the missions resided. The town of Larnaca had an open roadstead used by ships on their way to the East; on these ships the first eighteenth century travellers came to Cyprus, only too often, the island proved to be an unavoidable stop towards their final destination. Basil

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<sup>5</sup> Archimandrite Kyprianos: The chronological history of the island of Cyprus. Venice 1788, by Nicolaos Glykis, p. 495

<sup>6</sup> Theodore Bent: Early Voyages and Travels in the Levant London 1893, being no xxxvii of the Halkuyt Society's publications.

<sup>7</sup> Cornelis Van Bruyn: Voyage à travers les parties les plus fameuses de l'Asie Mineure, les isles de Scio, Rhodes, Chypre, etc. folio, Delft 1700. Paris 1714. Translated by C. D. Cobham: Excerpta Cypria pp. 236-244.

<sup>8</sup> Sir Harry Luke: Cyprus under the Turks. C. Hurst and Company, London, 1969, p. 92

<sup>9</sup> Alexander Drummond: Travels through different cities of Germany, Italy, Greece, and several parts of Asia London 1754. Edited by C. D. Cobham: Excerpta Cypria pp. 271-305



Grigorovich Barskii landed in Cyprus in the hope of finding a ship for Constantinople. Louis François Cassas visited Cyprus while trying to get to Egypt and faced with bad weather. Henry Light was bound for Constantinople, but the disastrous state of the ship compelled him to disembark at Larnaca in the hope of finding a better vessel. In some cases, the proximity of the Island to mainland Turkey and to the Holy Land made it a stopover point. Luigi Mayer, Dr. Sibthorp and F. Bauer treated it as such.

Cost was a prohibiting factor in travelling to faraway lands that required transport by ship. For this reason, most of the travellers were commissioned by wealthy patrons or governments cases in point being Cassas, Mayer and Leake. Some artists accompanied travellers /researchers, as is the case of Ferdinand Bauer; the few that travelled on their own means are the ones that should be most admired, as, in most cases they had very little to take them very far. They relied on the kindness of the local people for their food and accommodation and conditioned themselves to living on bare necessities. However, even the well-to-do travellers had not much choice when it came to accommodation. Hotels did not exist in eighteenth century Cyprus and the only place of rest one could find was a khan,<sup>10</sup> which really existed for the convenience of the locals travelling from one place to the other.<sup>11</sup> Foreign travellers had to furnish themselves with firmans from the governors of the various districts, or with letters of recommendation for the consuls of their nations or compatriots residing in the visited lands, so as to secure a place to stay in their homes as guests. The only other place where travellers could be housed and which was similar to today's notion of hostels, were the monasteries scattered around the island. As will be made obvious later on, these were not enviable abodes. From there on, simple accommodation could also be found in the miserable homes of the villagers at a small fee, and made acceptable with a lot of patience and perseverance.

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<sup>10</sup> A khan (Turkish word) was a kind of inn built around a courtyard, usually with a fountain in the centre, where on the ground floor were stables for the mules, donkeys and camels; on the top of the stables were rooms for rent to travellers.

<sup>11</sup> Agnes Petrides: Town Architecture; lectures of the Open University, published by the Popular Bank, Nicosia 1984, under the title Life in Cyprus in the 18th and 19th centuries, pp. 153-187

Mules were the most common means of transport, and if lucky, some horses or camels. But local guides and servants were easily found for accompanying and directing travellers all over Cyprus at very little cost. These were by no means professionals, but poor peasants eager to make a few pennies on the side, and have a few good meals. The virtually non-existent road system could best be followed by the obedient mules, while the monuments which usually lay at mountain peaks or obscure positions, were accessible with great difficulty.

The climatic conditions of Cyprus were perhaps the greatest hazard for the travellers. The hot summers and the insects breeding in the heat could be hardly endured by the Northerners; most of all the fevers that came along with the humidity, especially in Larnaca, gave much cause for concern. It was believed that these fevers were malaria, their best remedy being the immediate transport to the mountains where the climate was healthier and cooler. A lazaretto was established at Larnaca in the nineteenth century,<sup>12</sup> work started in 1835- and its absence till then is perhaps one reason towards explaining why ships avoided Cyprus in the eighteenth century. The sanitary conditions of the island were far from ideal for the visitor, while the locals were not eager to accept ships that may have had infected travellers or goods on board.

In spite of all these difficulties, Cyprus had its spot on the map and was visited and depicted by a number of travellers, whose work, in the form of sketches, drawings, watercolours, paintings or engravings, constitutes a visual perspective of the island and reflects the artists' inspirations.

### ***The travelling monk: Basil Grigorovich Barskii***

Amongst the first eighteenth-century travellers to Cyprus were a number of Russian pilgrims. The Russian travellers to the East felt a certain affinity to the Orthodox subjects of the Ottoman Empire, which was often lacking in the travellers of the West. To begin with, the Russians could relate culturally with the Orthodox religion and see

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<sup>12</sup> Sir George Hill: History of Cyprus, Cambridge University Press, 1972, vol. iv, p.169.

things through the Orthodox prism. Their travelogues focus on the ecclesiastic and monastic buildings and the liturgies and legends accompanying these sites. As a result, their accounts have become historically more valuable for only too often these buildings described were later destroyed by fire or left to decay. Even those that were rebuilt in most cases did not have their frescoes or their archives restored. In addition, the Russians felt closer to the East as they saw themselves the defenders of the Orthodox flock under the Turks, which attitude of course served the Russian interests in the Middle East, Greece and the Archipelago. Up until the end of the eighteenth century, the Russian travellers were scornful of the Turks, more so than their Western counterparts, regarding Muslims inferior to Christians.

The Russian wars with the Ottoman Empire made communications and travel very difficult. Pilgrims were often obliged to travel incognito, or in disguise. Letters of credit from Russia were not sufficiently honoured in the Ottoman Empire<sup>13</sup> and often enough Russian pilgrims had to depend on the hospitality offered to them by the Greek monasteries, or look for work to provide for their journey. Accounts and reports from such pilgrims refer to the poor service extended to them by the Russian consuls in the Ottoman Empire. Usually the role of consuls was assumed by Greeks, which fact denotes a non reciprocal attitude between the Russians and the Greeks. Although the Russian regarded the Greeks as members of a sister Orthodox Church, the latter did not rise fully to the expectations of the former. The hierarchy of the Eastern Orthodox Patriarchies often abused its power and exploited Christian Arab and Russian pilgrims. The Greeks of the eighteenth century had lost the glamour of the classical Greeks and very little was left there to remind one of ancient glories; these factors made the term “good” relations between the two nations rather ambivalent. Nonetheless, a number of Russian pilgrims dared to include Cyprus amongst their peregrinations to the Eastern Mediterranean. Andrei Ignat’ev, a priest attached to the envoy of Count Peter Tolstoi, visited Cyprus in 1707. The hieromonach Ippolit Vishenskii went to Cyprus in 1709 while hieromonach Varlaam Lenitskii was there in 1712. Perhaps though the most

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<sup>13</sup> Theophanis Stavrou and Peter R. Weisensel: Russian travellers to the Christian East from the twelfth to the twentieth century, Slavica Publishers, Inc. Columbus, Ohio, 1986, p.XLIII



significant visit to Cyprus, and the longest stay was by the priest Basil Hieronymus Grigorevich Barskii-Plaka-Alpov.<sup>14</sup> He was born in 1701 in Kiev, the third of a family of ten children. His father was a semi-literate merchant. Around 1716 he entered the Kiev Academy but due to a serious ailment on his leg was unable to finish his eight - year course of studies and in 1723 he left Kiev for L'viv for medical treatment. By then he had a basic education which included knowledge of Slavonic languages and Latin and the basics of Orthodox theology. At L'viv he entered the Jesuit Academy and there he experienced the persecution of Orthodox believers by the Uniate Roman Catholic authorities, an experience which was to follow him in his peregrinations and affect his writings. Upon leaving L'viv, he set out on foot for the shrine of St. Nicolas at Bari, then visited Naples, Rome, Florence and Venice. From Italy he crossed over to Greece via Corfu, Chios, Salonica to Mount Athos. The Holy Land was his next destination and it was during that voyage that he first came to Cyprus.

Barskii was a devout Orthodox Christian, spoke Greek and had made it his life's task to visit and describe the churches, monasteries, important sites and write about the norms and customs of the Eastern Orthodox World, which he did over a period of twenty years. Barskii's work was published in Russia after his death accompanied by his own illustrations. The first edition appeared in St. Petersburg in 1778, but there were a series of reprints to follow in 1785, 1793, 1819 and finally a new and more complete edition appeared in 1885 in four volumes.<sup>15</sup> The manuscripts were then kept in the library of Count Oubarov. Presently these are in Kiev in the Archive of the Akademija Nauk. Unfortunately not all of Barskii's drawings are preserved. Some have been lost, others have been destroyed, while some may not have seen the light as yet.

Cyprus appears in the first and second volume of the last edition. The descriptions are accompanied by fourteen drawings. Eleven are of churches and three of the towns of Nicosia, Larnaca and Famagusta. Barskii started illustrating views of Cyprus within the

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<sup>14</sup> See appendix.

<sup>15</sup> The travels of Basil Grigorovich Barskii to the Holy Land of the East from 1723 to 1747 compiled by the Orthodox Palestinian Company according to his manuscripts under the direction of Nicolas Varsoukoff. St. Petersburg 1885.

text of his travel-diary, but during his final visits to the island he executed his drawings on separate sheets of paper on a larger scale which were bound within the manuscript. In some instances small sketches of relics are still within the text. There is also a map illustrating Barskii's tour of Cyprus. In "Sources of the history of Cyprus"<sup>16</sup> two more drawings reputedly by the monk Barskii,<sup>17</sup> make their first appearance. These are the drawings of the Monastery of Saint John Lampadistis (pl.17) and the Monastery of Mother of God of Sindy, (pl.18) (illus. no. 2 and 3).

Barskii first came to Cyprus on September 19-20th 1726 from Rhodes. He spent a very short time in Limassol where his ship anchored for a day and a half and then sailed on to Palestine. In April of the same year he left from the port of Jaffa for Damietta (Dumyat) but due to contrary winds his ship was led to Cyprus. Once again they anchored at Limassol and Barskii stayed in the island till July 1727. He made a journey visiting Larnaca, Kykko Monastery, Ayios Mamas church and Nicosia. It was a brief visit but Barskii returned once again in July 1730 at the port of Famagusta for a few days. His main visit to the island took place between September 1734 and August 1736 when, falling seriously ill in Tripoli, he attempted to go to the island of Patmos via Cyprus. Instead, he spent two years in Cyprus. He taught Latin at Archbishop Philotheos' newly founded school in Nicosia and travelled around the island, visiting churches and monasteries. He witnessed the big earthquake of 1735 and then the outbreak of the plague epidemic. He was in Cyprus at a time when the Greeks, totally oppressed, lived mainly in the safety of the mountains and Cyprus suffered from the Turks and the natural elements. Barskii was a scholar, he knew his history and during his visits he displayed persistence in searching out the various sites he wanted to visit. He commented fairly on the degenerate state of the monuments and churches and being one of the very few travellers that possessed knowledge of the Byzantine history of Cyprus, his work is invaluable. Especially so, since some of the churches he described have long since been destroyed. Although he set off from Russia during the reign of Peter I, when

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<sup>16</sup>Alexander D. Grishin: A Pilgrim's Account of Cyprus: Barskii's Travels in Cyprus, Sources for the History of Cyprus, vol. III, Greece and Cyprus Research Centre, 1996, pl. 17 and 18.

<sup>17</sup>*Ibid* p.10, f.41

travelogues were still written in a diary form and mostly in an arduously religious manner, Barskii's diary seems to have influences from the Western tradition of travel writing. He did not confine himself to the dry descriptions of the religious monuments but made his writing more interesting by including anecdotes, personal impressions and feelings. Every now and then he includes descriptions of various incidents that occurred during his long peregrinations; these add to the diary making it more than just a religious pilgrimage. Being perceptive and at the same time thirsty for knowledge, he did not fail to note whatever interesting information he discovered about Cyprus beyond the religious sphere. What impresses the reader though is Barskii's genuine desire to share his discoveries and thoughts. His manner of writing, which is reflected in his illustrations, assured the reader that Barskii tried his best to transfer to his reader all that he saw and experienced. This he tried to accomplish by being very methodical and disciplined in his approach to the description of each site. First he described the setting of each monument, gave information concerning its structural features, a detailed account of the interior and then went on to deliver the history, his observations and comments. The descriptions are meticulously represented in the drawings and so is the setting as far as possible. Little signs are included to help the viewer orientate himself and appreciate the scene better. For example, he often put the sun in the sky and wrote the word "East" in Greek (illus. no. 4, of the Monastery of St. George). In the illustration of the Monastery of the Holy Cross, (illus. no. 5) he included two boats in full sail in the horizon in order to make it quite clear where the sea lay. The chores of the priests in their respective monasteries are often illustrated in order to make the overall scene more impressive and memorable.

With time, Barskii matured in his narrative and in his drawing. Not being a professional artist, his illustrations are clearly primitive. He often declared that he had no skills in art: *When a place is worthy of depiction I try to do this with great effort, not being trained in art or land-surveying or icon-painting, but through simple dedication which God gave me, I work without any art, with pen and ink and my hands.*<sup>18</sup> In fact as his journey progressed, he became more selective as to which monuments should be portrayed and decided on this according to the historical significance he attributed to each site.

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<sup>18</sup> *Ibid* pp. 7-8



However, on certain occasions the artist was so impressed by the natural surroundings of the church, that he compelled to include a drawing for the benefit of his viewer: *One day I went with one of the monks to worship, but then felt unable to return with him as I could not leave the place because of its ineffable beauty. Therefore, I carefully depicted it on a sheet of paper, as well as I could, out of love for the readers and listeners of my sinful labours.*<sup>19</sup> Unfortunately this illustration has not been found as yet.

Bellapais, the Premonstratorian abbey in the Kyrenia region, was visited by our monk and by many other travellers of the eighteenth century. Most of them depicted the abbey; but Barskii, although admitting to its incomparable beauty, failed to do so, claiming that the ruinous state of the abbey caused him much sorrow:

*I intended to produce a faithful rendering of the scene, but was overwhelmed as I saw in many places collapsed and destroyed ruins which were totally deserted and overgrown with trees and foliage. And there is no hope or power, which can restore them or take care of them, and they will forever remain forsaken, deserted, and abandoned.*<sup>20</sup>

The beauty of ruins that was so often appreciated by artists, did not affect Barskii who, not being trained in the world of art, failed to be moved by it. Yet the Monastery of Trikoukkia (illus. no.6) which according to Barskii *is twice the size of the one which I have just described, but is poor, dilapidated and is ready to collapse*<sup>21</sup> was awarded an illustration. Similarly, the famous gothic monuments of St.Nicolas in Famagusta and St. Sophia in Nicosia, at the time of Barskii's visit turned into mosques by the addition of minarets, have not been granted separate illustrations, but appear only in the overall illustrations of the respective towns. Barskii gave some feeble excuse about fearing the Turks who might notice him drawing and that he was not allowed in the interior of the monuments. In any case he never sketched the interior of any monument. It could be

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<sup>19</sup> *Ibid* p.35

<sup>20</sup> *Ibid* p.31

<sup>21</sup> *Ibid* p.68

argued that perhaps Barskii was prejudiced in portraying religious monuments of another faith and indeed Catholic edifices, not wanting to give them importance as such. He did however include them as monuments of the cities, thus giving them their political and historical attributes. He does so very effectively, for the two illustrations of the towns of Nicosia and Famagusta contain many historical features and were we to erase the minarets that are protruding above the city walls then these cities could easily be taken for Western European towns. This has been verified by descriptions of many travellers for years later. The houses in the view of Nicosia (illus. no. 7) appear to be mostly two-storied, and what is striking are the walls of the city that tighten around it. Barskii noted that in winter the moat was filled with water. In his illustration of Famagusta, (illus. no. 8) Barskii took pains to follow the line of the walls and achieve the impression of strong fortifications. He depicted a harbour that was primitive but busy and placed monuments within the walls. He tried to represent the gothic decorations and embellishments of the cathedral of St. Nicolas, and stress its impressiveness. He portrayed Famagusta in 1730 as a medieval city; even today, there are corners in that city that take one that far back in time. Barskii felt it looked a bit like Rhodes and wrote:

*In it there are old buildings and beautiful churches going back to ancient times, some of which are now empty, and others have been converted into Turkish mosques. Of these the most beautiful is the church of Saint Sophia [sic]<sup>22</sup>, which is constructed with great art, and which the Turks have now converted into a desecrated mosque. Who having seen the beauty of this church will not weep about it, or who having seen the skill and the art with which it has been constructed will not be amazed by it?<sup>23</sup>*

Larnaca, (illus. no. 9) is portrayed in two parts, Alikas, in the foreground and Larnaca in the background of the drawing. Larnaca was the town of grand houses, of the French, of

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<sup>22</sup> Often travellers made the mistake of referring to the cathedral of St. Nicolas as the church of St. Sophia, confusing it with the name of the cathedral of Nicosia

<sup>23</sup> Alexander D. Grishin: A Pilgrim's Account of Cyprus: Barskii's Travels in Cyprus, p. 23

the merchants and of commerce. In the Marina or Alikas,<sup>24</sup> the castle with its cannons protruding through the fortifications is immediately noticeable, as well as the famous church of St. Lazarus which so impressed Barskii. At the rear part of the town of Larnaca, one can distinguish the foreign banners flying above buildings. For the benefit of the viewer, the artist has noted with inscriptions in French, being the language of diplomacy in the eighteenth century, that those are the banners of the English and the French consulates. This illustration of the city was made within the text, on the lower half- part of the page.

Barskii's illustrations of the churches of Cyprus are not only historical documents for the researchers, since these monuments have undergone considerable changes, but are also pleasant depictions full of freshness and briskness that reflect the agreeable character of our traveller monk.

In the drawing of the church of Ayios Neophytos,<sup>25</sup> (illus. no. 10) in the remote area of Paphos, the monastery surrounds the church and in its turn is surrounded by the orchards that belong to it. A bit further away, on the lefthand corner, Barskii has drawn the *engleistra*, the hermit's cave and tomb, within an arch. A soldier guards the entrance to the path leading towards the engleistra, which fact attests to the special status of the church under the Turks. The clergy was used as the dragoman<sup>26</sup> between the people and the rulers and it was granted special privileges; monks were allowed to travel wherever they wanted without being searched or stopped and church property was supposed to be respected by the Ottoman authorities and enjoyed special tax arrangements. The monastery lies in the foothills of the Troodos mountains, at the end of a difficult uphill

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<sup>24</sup> There seems to be confusion concerning the names and topography of the town. Often the main town inland is referred to as Tuzla (Turkish name) or Larnaca, while the part of the town which was on the seashore, the port, is called Scala, Alikes, Alikas, Salines; sometimes the town inland was referred to as Salines. These names were used rather liberally by the travellers and varied between the 18th and 19th centuries.

<sup>25</sup> The description of this and the rest of Barskii's drawings are based on the photographic reproductions in Andreas Stylianou's study: The Peregrinations of the Russian Monk Basil Grigorovich Barsky - Plaka - Alpov alias Basil Moskovorussian Kievopolitan in Cyprus, published in Cyprus Studies vol. kA, Nicosia 1957.

<sup>26</sup> *Dragoman*: interpreter or mediator.



road even by today's standards, which affords though magnificent views of the Paphos coastline. Looking at the drawing, there are very few alterations that one would think of doing in order to bring it up to date.

The same applies to his illustration of the monastery of the Holy Cross (illus. no. 5). The scale of the illustration is wrong but that is perhaps due to the fact that Barskii was so eager to include more than the proper perspective would naturally allow. This though is not disturbing. His people are busy with the daily chores; a villager is sowing a small piece of land, and another man is feeding the chicken outside the monastery's annex that is inscribed "Ayia Varvara" in Greek by the artist. A monk is seen walking up the pathway towards the monastery. Such figures are found in some more of the drawings in order to reinforce the religious tone but often enough they are identified in the text. For example of his lost drawing of the Monastery of Macheras, Barskii notes: *It should be noted that the miracle-working icon which is inside the church I have drawn as if it is outside the monastery to enable people to see it clearly. I have also shown the hegumen in short garments standing outside the monastery's gates, and about him I will speak later.*<sup>27</sup>

The drawing of the monastery of Trikkoukia,<sup>28</sup> (illus. no. 6) faithfully follows Barskii's description of it:

*The church is in the middle of the monastery, with one entrance, a tiled roof and with a wooden porch around it....while to the east, in front of the monastery is a spring with sweet good drinking water, which is warm in winter and icy-cold in summer. Outside the gate, near the monastery is a huge lovely almond tree and in the surrounding area there are many fruit trees, with numerous plum and pear trees..*<sup>29</sup>

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<sup>27</sup>Alexander D. Grishin: A Pilgrim's Account of Cyprus: Barskii's Travels in Cyprus, p.86

<sup>28</sup> Trikkoukia monastery lies in the Troodos mountain range, between the monastery of Trooditissa and Prodromos village.

<sup>29</sup>Alexander D. Grishin: A Pilgrim's Account of Cyprus : Barskii's Travels in Cyprus, pp. 69-70

It is a fact that the churches and monasteries in the mountains often have a wooden roof covered with tiles. This helped with the snow, which could fall over a period of three months. Under this roof and visible from the inside, was the usual Byzantine dome of the Orthodox churches. Barskii wrote that Trikkoukia was a poor monastery and in a derelict state with only three monks left in it. Three are the monks portrayed in the sketch, once again translating the words of the author into the drawing of the artist. It is almost as if the monk wants to speak to and educate his readers through the iconography as did the fathers of the faith while painting the icons in the Orthodox tradition. The position of the monastery impressed the traveller who could not resist drawing it. And it was fortunate he did as very little was known about this little church. The veranda was totally destroyed and only the north wing of the monastery cells survived. It was thought and mentioned by Rupert Gunnis<sup>30</sup> that the monastery was restored in 1761 but there is no concrete evidence to support this. Within the last two years though the monastery has undergone substantial restoration and is now run by nuns.

Barskii was impressed by the monastery of St. Heracleithios,<sup>31</sup>(illus. no 11) which was grander than most monasteries and surrounded by many villages. For this reason the monastery had many visitors who are offered the produce of its orchards and livestock. The Turkish administrators often hastled the Abbot for money and he appeared to Barskii depressed and worried. In the drawing, the monks are portrayed one with a spade resting on his shoulder and the other carrying a hay fork; a third is watering the orchard, while another monk is on his way to the monastery on a donkey. Yet again the monks are portrayed working in relation to the reputation of the monastery, that is in the cultivation of the land and orchards. Behind the main building there is a rock. Barskii says *it appears to be taller than 10 sadgents, and it does not seem to have been placed there as its root is not obvious. People are amazed at this rock.*<sup>32</sup>

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<sup>30</sup> Rubert Gunnis: Historic Cyprus, Methuen & Co. Ltd. London 1936, p. 447

<sup>31</sup> The monastery lies near the village of Politiko, in the Nicosia district, and in great proximity of the ruins of Tamasos.

<sup>32</sup> Basil Grigorovich Barskii: The Peregrinations of Basil Grigorovich Barkii-Plaka-Alpov, from 1723 until 1747 to the Holy Lands of Europe, Asia, and Africa, published by Varsoukoff, St. Petersburg 1885, p. 307.

In the Kyrenia mountain range, Barskii visited the monastery of Ayios Chrysostomos, (illus. no. 12) and was impressed by the architecture but also the contents of the church. He made a charming drawing of it and gave a detailed description of what he saw. That church does not survive today. It was rebuilt in 1891. So Barskii's drawing, as well as that of another traveller before him, Cornelius Van Bruyn<sup>33</sup> in 1683, (illus. no. 13) are rare illustrations of St. Chrysostomos.

The Monastery of St. Mamas (illus. no. 14) was depicted during the second visit to Cyprus in June 1727. Looking at the illustration one finds that it contains all the techniques that our monk used in order to enhance his representation. For example, the sun is accompanied by the inscription "East," the surrounding countryside is included to clarify the setting of the place and at the corners of the illustration there are the houses of the "Christians" and the "Turks". This denotes that the monastery was built in the middle of a village where the two communities are segregated. The execution is rather dry and rough, having nothing charming or grand about it. Yet Barskii felt that the church was perhaps the most beautiful in the island: *The church of the Holy Martyr Mamas is a very splendid construction, unlike any other church over which Christians now have possession, and surpasses in beauty any other church on Cyprus*. Six or seven years later Barskii drew the monasteries of St. Neophytos, of the Mother of God Arakou and of the Archangel Gabriel at Lakatamia (illus. nos. 10, 15, and 16). These drawings apart from being better executed, with more detail and better perspectives with greater architectural precision, contain strong elements of charm and delight. This is the result of the more secure and confident artist but perhaps also from his liberation from the Petrine strict rules of a travel writer, a fact that allows him a personal touch and style not only in his writing but also in his illustrations.

Apart from his drawings, Barskii left another tangible testimony of his visit to Cyprus: his very own graffiti at Ayios Nicolaos tis Stegis, the Church of St. Mamas and St. John the Lampadistis. On various parts of the churches he inscribed his name as a pious

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<sup>33</sup> See Appendix.



pilgrim to those holy places and the date of his visit. In some cases the graffiti was restricted to the above, while in other cases his inscriptions were longer, as in the church of Ayios Nicolaos tis Stegis: 1735. *Having ascended from Trikoukkia to Troodos and having written about the snow there, the water of the eagles, the famous cotton stone, Saint Mamas the tonsured, the Pasha's pasture and other things, I the least among monks, Basil the Muscovite, a traveller from Kiev, came to worship at this venerable monastery on July 30.* In an almost child-like manner, the travelling monk wanted those after him to bear witness to his strenuous pilgrimage and his deep faith which were the fulfilling elements in his life.

### ***The scholarly consul: Alexander Drummond***

Alexander Drummond<sup>34</sup> included his stay in Cyprus in his book "Travels through different cities of Germany, Italy, Greece, and several parts of Asia, as far as the banks of Euphrates: in a series of letters, London 1754". He was His Majesty's Consul at Aleppo, and in 1751 assumed similar responsibilities in Cyprus.<sup>35</sup> He died in 1769.

In Cyprus Drummond spent about two and a half months and covered more than six hundred miles in journeys across the island, and his experiences are contained in letters vi, vii, viii, xiii of his book. He arrived on the island from Tripoli on March 6th 1745, left the island on the pretext of a short mission to Egypt in May of the same year and returned in April 1750, for the wedding of his friend Consul Wakeman. Drummond adorned his book with many illustrations and maps that he claims he sketched himself. In his chapters on Cyprus there are nine engravings of views in Cyprus and two maps, one of the island and one of the Bay of Larnaca. His sketches are executed with care and explicitness and present a more precise picture than his narrative. He was a difficult person, could not tolerate the heat, and was rather arrogant and patronising in his

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<sup>34</sup> See appendix.

<sup>35</sup> Sir Harry Luke: Cyprus under the Turks, p. 98

attitudes. Drummond desired to give a scholarly account of his voyage and his theorising often becomes tiresome. He was opinionated and obstinate, a rather unsympathetic character:

*From all I can learn, I believe I shall not stretch my curiosity much further: for nothing curious or amusing is to be seen, and their method of travelling is not at all inviting. When I went to Famagusta, formerly Salamis, afterwards Constantia, at least the situations seemed to agree, I rode upon a mule furnished with a ragged patched packsaddle, so baggy that I straggled like a beggar upon a woolpack; in lieu of a whip I was provided with a sharp pointed stick about a foot long, with which I was directed to prick the lazy animal's shoulders, when I wanted to quicken his pace.<sup>36</sup>*

An enthusiastic traveller would welcome such touches of *couleur locale* and such “hardships” were encountered by all travellers in the Levant during those times and were borne with grace. Nevertheless he managed to travel all over the island and gave a good account of his voyage always in the role of an observer examining disparagingly the land and its inhabitants. Drummond was a British traveller of the eighteenth century, and as such was primarily interested in seeing and writing about the classical antiquities of the countries he visited and was able to prepare for this experience with texts of the ancient writers. Furthermore, being a Consul in the Eastern Mediterranean, he enjoyed the privileges that came with the position, of easier travel, preferential treatment and access to more information; as a result of his position he also possessed the methodology of assessing situations and people. His accounts though are not devoid of the beliefs and the attitudes that inhibited the British travellers of his time and status. He belonged to the group of British travellers whose sympathy lay with the Greeks; they condemned the atrocious political and cultural situation of the subordinate Greeks in the Levant, but were disillusioned by the picture that the Greeks of the eighteenth century presented. They never failed to note that these Greeks had little in common with their ancestors:

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<sup>36</sup> Alexander Drummond: Travels through different Cities of Germany, Italy, Greece and Several Parts of Asia as far as the Banks of Euphrates, in a series of letters, London, MDCCLIV, letter vi, p. 138

*It is equally astonishing and lamentable to see the ignorance that prevails in those countries, where the arts and sciences once flourished to such perfection; and from where the seats of learning were scattered through the European world.*<sup>37</sup> Cyprus did not impress Drummond who voiced his criticism whenever given a chance, trying always to be impartial. He searched for the classical glories of the place and was very disappointed to find only miserable ruins. He travelled to Paphos in the hope of justifying his expectations but was disappointed once again.

Overwhelmed by the number of churches which did not seem to interest him and disheartened by the fact that he did not find traces of the temple of Venus, he refrained from sketching the scanty antique fragments that lay all over the place. Instead he broke into long narratives as to where he believed the temple of Venus to have been and where Old Paphos lay. He recorded the medieval monuments and some of the churches he visited but none excited him enough. The Turkish elements he encountered during his journey were awarded little attention and mentioned only in relation to the people mostly in a rather derogatory way. The unjust and oppressive method by which the Turks ruled Cyprus aggravated Drummond and he expressed his opinion in no uncertain terms. However, he had no high esteem for the Greeks either, although he excused them for being under the tyranny of the oppressors:

*Though the natives were always remarkably effeminate and lazy, certain it is, they cultivate the land so as to be enriched by its produce: indeed much industry and labour was not required for the soil in general was incomparably fertile;...I am fully persuaded, that, if it were in the hands of the English or the Dutch, they would make such advantageous use of the springs, rivulets, and winter rains, that it would in a little time, become the garden of the earth..*<sup>38</sup>

In his sketches there are hardly any figures, after all, Drummond was disappointed by the appearance of the inhabitants:

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<sup>37</sup> *Ibid.* p. 140

<sup>38</sup> *Ibid* p. 133



*The Greek women are by some thought beautiful, though they do not please my taste: but all agree that they inherit the libertinism of their ancestors. Money will purchase the last favour from any individual; For, notwithstanding the natural heat of their constitution, they are shamefully mercenary; and some of the husbands so indifferent about the chastity of their wives, that it is not uncommon for a man to marry a woman, merely because he knows she is admired by some person, who, as the phrase is, will bleed freely.<sup>39</sup>*

Further on, during his visit to the Holy Mountain he commented:

*The men are worst than beasts, the women more ugly than fancy can conceive human females to be, especially in an island that was once the seat of beauty and love. And not the least vestige remains of antiquity, or even of those remarkable objects which the Venetians might be expected to have left upon the island<sup>40</sup>.*

Drummond felt that he had to cover all aspects of interest in a travelogue so he included descriptions of specimens of the fauna of the land such as the tarantula, (illus. no. 17) a venomous spider and the chameleon. He included drawings of both these creatures, which are detailed and self-explanatory. As he wrote to his brother he requested live specimens of these creatures which he first studied, then pinned on a board and sketched from various aspects and angles, with explanatory notes referring to each part of their body. The most interesting of his sketches though are in the last letter, and represent:

- A tombstone seen in the church of Acheropiitou, portraying a knight, with Latin inscriptions. (illus. no. 18)
- The church of St. Mamas at Morphou (illus. no. 19)
- south-west front of Agios Largo or St. Hilarion (illus. no. 20)
- South view of Buffavento or Queen's Palace (illus. no. 21)
- The North view of the Grand Commandery Dela Pays (illus. no. 22)

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<sup>39</sup> *Ibid* pp. 143-144

<sup>40</sup> *Ibid* p. 162

- West view of Cantara Castle (illus. no. 23)
- Church of Kanakarga (illus. no. 24)

As the antiquities of the island from classical times were not deemed worthy of representation, the sketches were restricted to monuments of the Byzantine and Medieval period of Cyprus. One cannot ignore the fact that these sites were more impressive and less ruinous. They offered themselves for more comprehensible illustrations in books, whereas the classical antiquities of the island would have required specific scholarship in order to be appreciated in the poor state they were in. This may be one reason for Drummond's choice of subjects. Being an amateur draughtsman he may have found it easier to illustrate edifices that had volume rather than detail and the need of further recognition. He had little to say about the structure and style of the Byzantine churches but he was pleasantly surprised by the architecture of the church of St. Mamas at the village of Morphou that he found in the Italian taste, an improvement of the "gout" of the inhabitants. This he represented taking some liberties. He justified doing so for the sake of purity: *They (the inhabitants) have built a mean corridor in front, (of the entrance) which has never been intended by the first architect, and is far from being a piece of the rest, so that I would not draw it.*<sup>41</sup> His illustrations of St. Hilarion, Buffavento and Bellapais as well as Cantara are impressive. The ruins are well defined, surrounded by trees, the elevation of the mountains rendering the edifices impregnable. There are different kinds of trees in each picture and care is taken to portray the stonework of the monuments, while dimensions are quoted whenever possible. Although Drummond exerted serious effort to do justice to the monuments, his sketches are scholarly representations that lack aesthetic beauty. The artist admitted to this in his commentary on Ayios Largos (St. Hilarion): *It has certainly been strong both from its site and fortifications; but I found no beauty nor inscription, not even the year, upon any one part of the ruins.*<sup>42</sup> His narrative tone is deplorably insular and negative, rendering thus his illustrations a more interesting alternative. As for his sketches of the two churches, St. Mamas and Kanagaria, although simple in their design, they constitute

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<sup>41</sup> *Ibid* p. 267

<sup>42</sup> *Ibid* p. 270

true representations of the small countryside churches. There is a sense in which one feels that Drummond appears almost obliged by his self-acclaimed scholarly duty to illustrate these monuments:

*We returned through a variety of good and bad, beautiful and bleak grounds, until we arrived at the convent of Canakarga; where, recollecting that it would be proper to give you an idea of a Greek church in their true taste, I pulled out my pencil and made the sketch no. 7 to save myself the trouble of drawing and measuring and you that of considering an ichnographical plan.*<sup>43</sup>

The interest lies in the fact that these are amongst the first sketches of churches we have of the eighteenth century, following those executed by the Russian travellers. Sadly, Drummond did not make any reference to the mosaics of Canakaria.<sup>44</sup> He confined himself only to a brief description of the architectural divisions of the church, revealing thus his limited interest in the overall art of the place; this approach is evident in most of his descriptions, which lack the enthusiasm of a true traveller. His long and often too opinionated theorising tends to distract from the essence of a travelogue. On the other hand he goes into some detail when it comes to relating facts about the commercial activities of the island or the situation of the population, or the legal and police system, making his point in favour of the oppressed. Being a consul, he is more at ease with such matters, as he is with descriptions of political situations.

While reading through Drummond's text one notices that sentiment, excitement, even the simple sense of anticipation are lacking. Instead, there is a straightforward account of events and an antagonistic recital of personal opinions as regards historical sources and writings concerning the various sites. The travelogue does not come from the heart but is rather intended to impress the reader and project the author's scholarly status. It is

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<sup>43</sup> *Ibid* p. 271

<sup>44</sup> The church of Kanakaria owes its fame to the beautiful mural mosaics of its central apse, c.500 AD. which reflect the influence of Constantinople; these were removed by plunderers during the Turkish invasion and sold to an American dealer. Following a successful trial at an international court, the mosaics were returned to the Archbishopric of Cyprus.



accompanied by a careful combination of illustrations of monuments, maps and species, a sample in other words of what “is expected” to be found in a travel book and not what moved the traveller or what he would like his reader to share with him in admiration. Drummond’s dry emotions and academic pre-occupation in his travel writing had the beneficial effect of rendering him a *puritan* in his artistic endeavours.

### *The connoisseur and collector: John Skippe*

Born in 1741, in Ledbury Herefordshire, John Skippe,<sup>45</sup> an amateur draughtsman and a connoisseur of the arts, was the son of John Skippe of Upper Hall and Jane Wellington of Whately. He studied at Merton College Oxford and was a student of and greatly influenced by John Baptist Malchair.<sup>46</sup> Between 1766 and 1777 Skippe travelled to Italy where he collected a number of paintings by the old masters<sup>47</sup> from which he later made chiaroscuro woodcuts. He also travelled to the Middle East and during these travels he made a number of topographical sketches, mostly in the Italianate manner.

We do not know when exactly the artist visited Cyprus, but in the archives of the Cyprus Archaeological Museum there are five watercolours attributed to John Skippe and listed as having been donated to the Museum by Sir Joseph Duveen on 4.8.1949.<sup>48</sup> They are recorded as having been made in 1760, but this date does not coincide with Skippe’s travelling expeditions, and must probably be guesswork. Unfortunately, two of the illustrations were sent to Famagusta to decorate the walls of some government building and were lost as a result of the Turkish invasion of 1974.<sup>49</sup>

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<sup>45</sup> See appendix.

<sup>46</sup> See appendix.

<sup>47</sup> Hereford and Worcester County Record Office, ref. no. B38/324: Catalogue of my pictures, mss list by John Skippe.

<sup>48</sup> Archaeological Museum of Nicosia, File no 104/35.

<sup>49</sup> *Ibid*

The watercolours, measuring 19 by 27 inches, are faded and in poor condition but one can determine the original colours. One of the works is inscribed *Larnaca in the Island of Cyprus* (illus. no. 25) and the other *Baffo-ancient Paphos in the island of Cyprus* (illus. no. 26). The two missing watercolours were *inscribed Part of the harbour of Famagusta in Cyprus* and *Church of St. Sophia and part of the Town of Famagusta*. These attest to the fact that the artist must have travelled extensively and spent some time on the island.

The illustrations of Cyprus now accessible are topographical; blue is the predominant colour, followed by green and a tint of pink in the skies, typical of the sunsets of the Middle East. Most intriguing though, is the watercolour of Paphos. At first glance one would tend to discard the picture as totally imaginative, especially since there are no other contemporary illustrations of this site for comparison. The nearest to it chronologically are the drawings of Ali Bey. Upon closer examination though it becomes evident that the site illustrated is certainly that of Paphos and this is verified beyond any doubt by the silhouette of the Paphos foothills and rising behind them in the blue distance the Troodos mountains.<sup>50</sup> The sketch must have been executed from the sea and the boat in which Skippe was in must have been anchored south west of the harbour. From that point the headland on the left of the picture represents the outer “castello” at the end of the harbour’s west breakwater (of which there is now almost nothing to see), for the effective part of the harbour then and now would lie hidden behind it. The castello, in Skippe’s time would have been nothing but a heap of ruined masonry. Beyond this, we see a bit of flat land just as it lies today between the Saranda Colones (an ancient site presently under excavation) and the sea front. At least until the thirteenth century this flat land had been part of the harbour. The operative part of the harbour, in the eighteenth century as now, is hidden by the headland. Further to the right, Skippe portrays a substantial building where, on rising ground he would have seen the ruins of the castle, presently the site of Saranda Colones, that is of the forty columns, named after the number of columns found there. We know from other eighteenth

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<sup>50</sup> I am indebted to Mr. A.H.S. Megaw, Sometime Director of the British School of Athens and ex-Director of the Cyprus Museum, presently excavating in Paphos at the Saranta Colones site, for helping me identify the exact location in Skippe’s illustration.



century sources that although the castle was demolished after an earthquake in 1222, some parts had survived sufficiently to be recognised as some kind of monument littered with bits of columns. This fact led to the belief that this was the site of the temple of Venus. Richard Pococke, who travelled extensively in Cyprus between October and December 1738, refers to this same site in his book Description of the East:

*To the north of the port there are some signs of an ancient temple on a ground raised by art. From the manner in which the grey pillars lie, and by the disposition of the ground, I judged there was a colonnade round it, and a portico to the west with a double colonnade; the pillars are about two feet in diameter. Half a furlong to the east of this there are foundations of a smaller building of hewn stone near the corner of the port, which might be either a temple or some other public building. Farther to the east are the remains of a large church, which probably was the cathedral, and seems to have been built on the foundations of a great temple, for there are some very large pillars of grey granite now standing near it; they are about three feet in diameter and finely polished; it is needless to say that both these temples were without doubt dedicated to Venus, for whose worship the city was famous.<sup>51</sup>*

But Skippe in his illustration ignores the slight eminence on which the ruins stood. To the right is another substantial building, which though a little too far from the shore, could be representing the Ayia Kyriaki church, existing even today and which in Skippe's time must have been even more prominent. Finally, in the middle of the picture in the distance the cluster of humble houses of Kato Paphos with a minaret is where one expects them to be and where there is still a modest mosque today without the minaret. Another description that comes close to Skippe's picture is given by Ali Bey of the bank opposite the harbour:..*and upon the bank itself, there are the remains of a great number of columns, which attest to the existence in former times of a magnificent monument. They are of a blackish grey marble, and highly polished. The inhabitants say it was a palace of Aphroditis.*<sup>52</sup> Therefore, although topographically

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<sup>51</sup> Richard Pococke: Description of the East, London, 1743-45, vol. II, p. 226

<sup>52</sup> Ali Bey el Abbassi: Travels of Ali Bey, London, 1816, p. 298



correct, Skippe using artistic license, allowed his imagination to adorn the view with what was supposed to be there and what lured most of the travellers to visit Paphos. The monument that is supposed to be the temple of Venus was perhaps placed in the picture in order to enhance the *topos*: Skippe was sketching Paphos, the birthplace of Venus. It was her fame that led him there. He was a travelling artist, an admirer of the antique world; his collection of paintings, thematically pertaining to the antique world, testifies to this. He, as well, is under the spell of the artistic concerns found in most artists of British background till the end of the eighteenth century. Therefore, when the exploration did not fulfil Skippe's expectations the artist's imagination did.

A boat seems to be entering the harbour. The boat has the sails of the well-known dhows of the Nile, which must have been used in Cyprus as well. As late as the end of the nineteenth century this kind of sail appear in illustrations of Cyprus.<sup>53</sup>

His painting of Larnaca is taken from an unusual point of view; part of the salt lake is seen in the foreground, whereas the buildings of the town are seen just behind. The flags of the various nations are hoisted, and some buildings of considerable size are obvious in the picture. The mountain of the Holy Cross rests against the horizon. What is interesting is the careful portrayal of each building that makes it recognisable. Tall walls surround the main feature of the painting, which obviously must be a consulate or the house of an importanta merchant, as it has a flag flying.<sup>54</sup> Two palm trees next to a two-storied house in the distance form a reference point in joining this picture with the one Skippe has entitled *Dilbo* (illus. no. 27). In fact the latter is another view of Larnaca taken from the west. The same building near the palm trees appears once again, as does the mountain of the Holy Cross. Why Skippe should name his painting *Dilbo* remains a mystery, unless we are to assume that the building illustrated carried this name. Most of the buildings of that period do not survive; the inhabitants often used the stonework to build new houses and churches. So, these illustrations which make available the

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<sup>53</sup> See illustration no. 223 by Captain Reginald Barrows Rudyard, 1888.

<sup>54</sup> The Dutchman Heyman, in his *Travels*, 1720, says that the English consul and an English company built such magnificent houses that they looked more like forts than private houses, to the dismay of the locals who continually complained, being suspicious of their size.

structure and the location of such grand buildings are testimonies to the affluence of the city's foreign community; the palm trees included in both views suggest the Eastern location of the site depicted.

### ***The romantic draughtsman : Louis Francois Cassas***

In 1783, Louis François Cassas,<sup>55</sup> a celebrated French artist was invited by Choiseul Gouffier, later French Ambassador to the Porte, to join him in Turkey. Gouffier was a collector of antiquities, and an amateur traveller, and he needed a good painter to illustrate the wealth of the East.

L. F. Cassas was born in Azay-le-Ferron (Indre) on 3 June 1756 and died at Versailles on 1st November 1827.<sup>56</sup> In 1770, the young Cassas was sent to Tours for an apprenticeship with the engineer Jean Cadet de Limay where he was involved in the building of stone bridges. Through friends Cassas was later introduced to the duc de Rohan Chabot. In 1775 Cassas entered the duc's Academy of Design and as a student he often visited the studios of Jean-Jacques Lagrenée le Jeune<sup>57</sup> and Jean-Baptiste LePrince.<sup>58</sup> Lagrenée who had travelled in Russia and Italy, taught Cassas the art of clear composition and the fine representation of archaeological sites and antiquities. LePrince, himself an avid traveller, inspired in Cassas the love for travel and for the exotic and taught him the art of working with live models and experimenting with the concepts of light and space, sowing thus in him the seeds of the pre-romantic movement. In 1779 Cassas made his first trip to Italy, sent there by his patron le duc de Rohan Chabot. Upon his return he met the future ambassador to the Porte, M. Choiseul Gouffier who invited him to join him to Constantinople and employed him to make a

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<sup>55</sup> See appendix.

<sup>56</sup> Louis François Cassas 1756-1827. Catalogue to accompany the exhibition of works by the artist at Wallraf-Richartz-Museum, Köln 22 April-19 June 1994 and Musée des Beaux Arts de Tours 19 November - 30 January 1995. Printed by Verlag Philip Von Zabern. Mainz am Rhein, 1994.

<sup>57</sup> See appendix.

<sup>58</sup> See appendix.



trip to the Ottoman provinces and illustrate the East as well as to gather precious antiques for his collections. After this long and pioneering trip for a French artist, Cassas returned to Rome where he enjoyed the fruits of his labour having by now established himself as an accomplished artist and *voyageur* who was unfolding for the first time the East to the West. Back in Paris in 1791 Cassas continued his work on the engravings of his Eastern trip which were to be published by his patron Choiseul Gouffier in a luxurious edition with text and annotations. There were an enormous number of sketches and although Cassas was an excellent architectural draughtsman, artist and engraver, the bulk of the work obliged him to employ some help. Some Parisian architects and some painters helped Cassas to finalise his drawings especially when it came to figures in landscapes and detailed portrayal of costumes. The names of these artists remain unknown except for that of Luigi Ademollo who occupied himself mainly with certain neo-classical figures in the views of Palmyra and Egypt. This enormous project was estimated to take about 10 years to be completed. Unfortunately the political events that took place in France upset the plans. Choiseul Gouffier, belonging to the *ancien régime*, had to flee to Russia and Cassas lost his patron and financier. The affinity though of Cassas's work to the ideals of the Enlightenment was reason enough for the Commissioners of the Revolution to adopt the project and to announce that it would be coming out in three volumes. It would be containing approximately 330 engravings: 70 of Palmyra, 50 of Baalbek, 57 of Lower Egypt, 47 of the Lebanon, 47 of Palestine, 17 of Northern Syria, Aleppo and Antioch and 13 of Cyprus. Up till 1803, only 180 engravings were made and only about 40 were published with text. The project was once again interrupted for the sake of another equally ambitious publication, that by Vivant Denon of the "Voyages dans la Basse et la Haute Egypte" or better known as "Description de l'Egypte". What was published of the work of Cassas did not follow the original concept and was reduced in text and engravings appearing like a folio of a travelogue. Disappointed by the course of events, and having by now five children, Cassas decided to present the rest of his work to the public in "La Galerie de M. Cassas" which opened in 1806 at his apartment at the Rue de Seine. There the visitors could see architectural maquettes from the Voyage Pittoresque and also buy the works of the artist. Thus a number of the original sketches from Cassas' trip to the



East have been dispersed in private collections and some have not been seen since. Later, in 1816, Cassas was appointed inspector and professor of design at the Royal Factory of Gobelins. In 1821 he was made Knight of the Légion d' Honneur and in 1825 he was awarded the order of Saint Michael. Cassas died on November 2nd 1827 in Versailles. What remained of his work and portfolios was sold at public auction in Paris in 1878.

Cassas visited Cyprus in early 1785 on his way from Alexandretta to Egypt, when the ship he was travelling on, *La Poulette*, was forced to land at Larnaca due to a storm. But he did not stay long, planning to come back to Cyprus after his trip to Egypt. He therefore arrived again on the island on the 6th of April 1785 and paid his respects to the then French consul M. Benoît D' Astier to whom he was recommended by Choiseul Gouffier. After spending two days in Larnaca he visited the rest of the island, Famagusta, Nicosia, Kyrenia, Saint Hilarion, Bellapais and Amathonte where he wanted to make illustrations that would be of interest to M. Choiseul Gouffier. In the book printed in Paris, by the Imprimerie de la République, in 1799, "Le Voyage pittoresque de la Syrie, de la Phœnicie, Palestine et de la Basse Egypte" six engravings of Cyprus are included:

- Vue Générale Des Ruines Du Monastère de Cozzafani, Dans L'Isle De Chypre.
- Ruines Du Monastère De Cozzafani, Dans L'Isle de Chypre
- Cérine, Ville sur La Côte Septentrionale de L'Isle de Chypre
- Portion De L'Arneca, Dans L'Isle de Chypre
- Portion Du Rocher Des Cent Et Une Maison Près De la Ville De Nicosie.
- Vue D'Une Mosquée, De Famagouste, En Chypre.

Cassas drew some more views of Cyprus that were not included in the above publication. One of these, (illus. no. 28) is in the Musée des Beaux-Arts in Tours, France; three more have recently made their appearance in the catalogue of the

exhibition of the works of Louis François Cassas in Tours<sup>59</sup>(illus. no. 29, 30, 31). These, Nicosia, Famagusta, and a view of Larnaca from the sea are in private collections. Therefore three more illustrations of Cassas have not yet surfaced. One can safely assume that one at least of these should be of Amathus since we know from a letter written by the French consul M. d' Astier to Choiseul Gouffier that Cassas was to draw plans at Amathus.<sup>60</sup> Years later, Louis Lacroix published his book "Iles de la Grèce" (Paris 1853). In it Lacroix uses four of the views of Cyprus by Cassas from Voyage Pittoresque to illustrate his chapter on Cyprus made by Lemaitre. They are reduced in size and modified but definitely based on the Cassas originals (illus. nos. 32-35). He also uses the view based on the watercolour belonging to the Tours Museum of Beaux-Arts (illus. no. 36) and two of the three which are in private collections, those of Nicosia and Famagusta (illus. nos. 37-38). In addition to these, there is another scene of "Les cent et une maisons" (illus. no. 39) which is in the same style, and of the same period and is basically another view of the famous Saint Hilarion castle, which has never before appeared in relation to Cassas. If one was to assume that this is also a variation of a Cassas' original as are all the others then we are only missing two of the Cassas drawings of Cyprus.

All of them can be described as topographical and are executed with diligence and precision. Within these views the abilities of an architectural draughtsman are outstanding. His treatment of the monuments especially that of the ruined abbey of Bellapais proves the maturity of the artist. Most of the known views contain Gothic monuments, which obviously impressed Cassas, such as the cathedral of St. Sophia in Nicosia, and the cathedral of St. Nicolas in Famagusta, but illustrated in their present state, that is, transformed into Turkish mosques. The minaret was added without fail to most of the religious monuments of the period. Furthermore, the use of figures is restricted in these views and whenever they appear it is to serve the purpose of making a point by the artist and not merely for aesthetic reasons.

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<sup>59</sup> Catalogue Louis François Cassas 1756-1827, pp. 142-143

<sup>60</sup> *Ibid* p.143, f.3



From the six engravings, two are of Bellapais Monastery and the rest are views of Larnaca, Famagusta, Kyrenia and the mountain of St. Hilarion, a Lusignan fortress. The four last engravings are fine examples of topography, containing historical information. The engraving of St. Hilarion (illus. no. 40) shows the precipice with the ruins of the Frankish fortress on the top, a group of shepherds at its feet and the bay of Kyrenia behind. Sheep are grazing in the narrow valley, while a few sailing boats in the background of the picture, give a faithful representation of the scenery that was still unchanged up to a few years ago. The engraving of Kyrenia (illus. no. 41) portrays a beautiful view of the harbour and the city, with the imposing Lusignan castle at the edge of the harbour. A minaret catches the eye, and this along with the group of four men portrayed in the foreground of the picture remind the spectator of the identity of the Lords of the Land. The four men are dressed in the costumes and headdresses of the Ottoman noblemen. Their stature, their posture, attests to their position of rulers. Upright, with outstretched arms as if they are giving orders, placed at a vantage position where they command a complete view of the harbour and town, they are portrayed as masters of the place, with servants at their feet playing music. The engraving of Famagusta, (illus. no. 42) presents a mosque, built immediately after the Turkish occupation of the island, 1571, next to the cathedral of St. Nicolas, which was turned also into a Mosque. The building follows the Moslem tradition in its architectural design, having a wide dome, surrounded by a gallery of rounded arches. In front of it stand two huge columns made out of granite. They come from the nearby ancient city of Salamis;<sup>61</sup> it is between these columns or pillars that Marcantonio Bragadino, the last Venetian captain of the city was tied and flayed alive by the Turks when Famagusta fell. His skin was stuffed with hay and exhibited for days around the country before being sent to the Sultan at the Porte. Aware of the barbarity of the Turks the artist included these columns in his picture allowing them to speak for themselves. Two hanoums, Turkish women, with their faces covered are waiting under a tree until two men go by so as not to be seen. Two other women are minding three children, they are the Greek servants as their faces are not covered. These two are standing reverently behind the two hanoums. Once again the roles of the master and servant are defined. This is a totally

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<sup>61</sup> Rupert Gunnis: Historic Cyprus, Methuen & Co. Ltd., London, 1936, p. 93



Turkish scene but for the pillars of Salamis and an ancient sarcophagus lying under a tree, which add "Greekness" to the picture.

The last engraving is of the town of Larnaca (illus. no. 43). It presents a fine view of the town from a short distance. The buildings are neat, with flat roofs, surrounded by palm trees and bushes as well as part of the salt lake. Amongst the buildings stand the flagpoles and foreign flags which remind the viewer that Larnaca was the town that hosted the foreign community of the Island and the consulates (amongst the foreign community the strongest were the French). Cassas has chosen to portray views that do not only make beautiful pictures but interesting reading as well. He has included in them facts about Cyprus in the most discreet way. This attitude might have been brought about by the influence exerted on the artist by his patron. Choiseul-Gouffier was a philhellene, to the point that during the Franco-British contest for the Sultan's favour, Sir Robert Ainsley, British Ambassador to the Porte, presented the Sultan with the French Ambassador's publication "Voyage Pittoresque" of 1782 in order to expose him and his philhellenic sentiments.<sup>62</sup>

Looking at all of Cassas's work on Cyprus one cannot help but notice that the views of Bellapais have something special and something different. I believe that what makes them stand out from the rest is essentially the fact that Cassas has included in them his own feelings about Cyprus, the peoples and their history.

The "Monastère de Cozzafani"<sup>63</sup> (illus. no.44) is the thirteenth century Gothic Abbey of Bellapais, also known as Episcopia or the White Abbey, Abbee de la Paix, or Telabaise,<sup>64</sup> perched on the foot of the Northern mountain range of the Island a short

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<sup>62</sup> Terence Spencer: Fair Greece, Sad Relic, Denis Harvey & Company, Athens, 1986, p. 219

<sup>63</sup> Vue des Ruines du Monastère de Cazzfone Chypre: Pen and grey ink and watercolour, 24.5 x 38 cm, inscribed with title on label attached to the backboard. This corresponds to the engraving plate 102 in vol. III of Voyage Pittoresque de la Syrie, de la Phœnicie, de la Palestine et de la Basse Egypte 1799. It is now in a private collection in Nicosia, Cyprus. It was illustrated in Sotheby's catalogue of Topographical paintings, watercolours and drawings, London, 23 October 1991, lot no. 11, p. 12.

distance East of Kyrenia overlooking the Caramanian Sea. Under the Lusignans, Augustinian canons lived there and in 1206, Thierry, Archbishop of Cyprus, authorised them to adopt the Premonstratensian rule. The abbey flourished under King Hugh III (1267-1284) and throughout the Lusignan era of Cyprus (1192-1489). From the reign of James the Bastard (1460), Bellapais was held "in commendam" up until 1565, when its influence declined and the French monks occupying the abbey allowed the buildings to fall into disrepair and their living standards to drop. With the Turkish conquest of the Island in 1571, Bellapais was abandoned and only a small Christian church within the abbey remained in use. The abbey stood there for centuries without monks or order, surviving as an impressive example of Gothic Art and a witness to the French rule of Cyprus.

The area surrounding Bellapais is and has always been described as one of the most idyllic spots of northern Cyprus, with excellent views of Kyrenia town on the one hand and the Kyrenia Range on the other. In fact, at the far right of the painting, the Pentadactylos (Five fingers) mountain peaks can be seen. The mountain on the extreme left is St. Hilarion; lush vegetation makes this part of the Island most distinctive, as Cyprus, suffering from drought and having no rivers, was, especially in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, presenting a picture mostly of yellow cornfields, or vast arid wasteland.<sup>65</sup> Travellers of the time never failed to point out the difference between the landscape of the south of the Island and that of the northern part, always making special reference of the area around Bellapais.

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<sup>64</sup> Richard Pococke: Description of the East, vol. II, p. 222.

<sup>65</sup> Alexander Drummond: Travels through different cities of Germany, Italy, Greece and several parts of Asia. While travelling from Larnaca to Nicosia, Drummond writes: *We ranged over many bare hills, and crossed a number of dirty channels; so that during the whole excursion, I did not see one pile of grass or one drop of running water, except from sickly and almost expiring springs. What Briton of a moderate fortune would live in such a disagreeable country?* Further on, Drummond describes the north west part of the island, near the village of Lefca: *In the morning I crossed the river Cunara, and entered a deep gut between the mountains, which are covered with large pines or pitch-firs...the numerous hills around rise either in the form of sugar-loaves or sharp wedges covered with sycamores, platanes, a name we borrow from the Greeks who call them platano; charoupi or the locust, which name they have from the Italian...*



When Cassas visited the monastery of Cozzafani (sic) (Kasaphane is a village approximately a mile to the north of the site), the abbey was in ruins and had been abandoned for over two centuries. It was overgrown with ivy and bushes<sup>66</sup> and no care had been taken to preserve the architectural features. Nevertheless, the edifice received frequent visits by travellers and scholars. The Ottoman authorities were not interested in preserving monuments of the Christian faith; in fact, Gothic churches such as that of St. Sophia in Nicosia and St. Nicolas in Famagusta had long since been turned into mosques. Bellapais, being isolated, not easily accessible to the average "visitor" due to the rough winding pathways, standing on its own, and not in the centre of a large town, escaped transformation.

Cassas' treatment of landscapes is very much according to the models of the seventeenth century artists Claude and Poussin. He is topographically correct and treats his subject matter as a man trained in the rules of art. While a traveller and a researcher, his formal training never abandoned him. The landscape invites the viewer to admire the monastery that is placed in the centre left of the painting with a background of impressive mountains. The vegetation envelops and complements the focal point of the painting and partakes in its grandeur. The large, tall tree on the right corner of the painting, Ailanthus altissima, a tree to be found in high altitudes of the island, is typical of that area. Alianthus altissima originates from China but by the Middle Ages was naturalised in Southern and Central Europe and believed to have been introduced to Cyprus by French monks who brought seeds from their motherland and planted them near and around the monasteries they built. Examples of this practice are found in other areas of Cyprus such as the Monastery of St. Neophytos and the Monastery of Antiphonitis. Ailanthus altissima is also known as the Tree of Heaven.<sup>67</sup> Included in the painting, the tree balances the picture, constituting the other high point against the mountain peak in the distant left corner. Both points thus frame the abbey and create a vista in the centre right which is accentuated by the positioning of a group of people in

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<sup>66</sup> Camille Enlart: Gothic Art and the Renaissance in Cyprus translated and edited by Sir David Hunt, Trigraph, London, 1987, chap. VII, pp. 174-200

<sup>67</sup> Information kindly supplied by: Mr. Evripides Michaelides, ex director of the Dept. of Forests, Cyprus and Forestry consultant to the Food and Agricultural Organisation of the United Nations.



the foreground. They are carefully placed strategically in front of the furthest point of the horizon amongst the mountain peaks and as they ascend the path, the horizon point becomes more inviting and is even more emphasised. The setting evokes the passage of time, the grandiose background of the mountains evokes the fragility of the human element and its smallness against nature. The light diffuses without disturbing the subject, in fact adding atmosphere to the whole. But what is to be said of the figures? There are two women and a child, walking up the path and on the left side of it they have just left behind them a figure of an elderly man, most probably a beggar, resting on a rock. The central figure in the group, the taller woman, looks at the beggar over her left shoulder and points at him with her outstretched left arm. Obviously the two women are discussing the beggar while the child is eager to walk on. What is definitely peculiar in Cassas' representation of this group and even in contradiction with the precision characterising the treatment of the landscape, are the costumes and indeed the very presence of this group in the painting.

No women would be walking along country paths alone in eighteenth century Cyprus, certainly not dressed in this manner. The costumes presented here by Cassas are more classical, Grecian *χλαμύδα* westernised, rather than Cypriot. Documentation exists which defines the eighteenth century Cypriot attire as a mixture of Turkish and Greek Island costumes.<sup>68</sup> Cyprus, being poor, indeed very poor, had no fine costumes. Women never went out of the house unless it was to the market, to another house or to church and were always accompanied by a male escort. The beggar is surely a Greek Cypriot. He is wearing a Greek costume, easily distinguishable from the colour of the *vraka*, or pantaloons, which is dark blue. The Turks wore white pantaloons; the *gilet* he is wearing is of the Greek traditional costume and the headdress, the red cap, was what the subservient Greek Cypriots wore during the Ottoman period.<sup>69</sup> He must be a beggar for the alternative to this would be a shepherd. Yet there is no evidence of a flock of sheep

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<sup>68</sup> Eleni Papademetriou: Cypriot Costumes, The Peloponnesian Folklore Foundation, Athens, 1991  
Ephrosyni Rizopoulou-Egoumenides: The urban costumes of Cyprus during the 18th and 19th centuries, Cultural Foundation of the Bank of Cyprus, Nicosia, 1996

<sup>69</sup> Ephrosyni Rizopoulou-Egoumenides: The urban costumes of Cyprus during the 18<sup>th</sup> and 19<sup>th</sup> centuries, pp. 140-146.

or goats anywhere in the landscape. The posture of the figure is not that of a shepherd's who would most likely have been standing or sitting under a tree watching over his flock. Also, the trees in the landscape do not appear to have suffered from the effects of grazing.

Cassas lived at a time when France was about to undertake the greatest social change of the century. Humanitarian ideas were triumphant and the smell of revolution was in the air. Writers and artists were the first to sense and be affected by such phenomena. Cassas could not have been the exception. Although an accomplished architectural draughtsman and an exceptional topographer, in this painting one can detect the emotions of a man of his times, which reveal him to be a forerunner to Philhellenism. In a landscape that is totally westernised, with absolutely no indication as to the political status of this Island, which was Ottoman, the painter took the opportunity to use symbolism and express his own feelings as to what he felt on his journey. Would it not be plausible to assume that there is a historical allegory in the foreground of the painting? Can the beggar or the old man who looks tired and helpless, on the side of the road, resting on the rock and leaning on his stick and on his knees almost, eagerly, desperately, one could say, looking towards the ladies passing by, be the Greek Cypriot people? He is a reject on the side of the road bypassed by all; he cannot make it any further on the uphill road, no one helps, although his desire to continue is evident. Cyprus is on the wayside. No nation is really interested to see or help this country that once enjoyed the primary role of the Mediterranean islands. It is abandoned to its fate, and its people are kneeling under the heavy boot of the oppressors. The same fate is shared by Greece, which was once seen as the cradle of civilisation. The rayias, be he in Greece or in Cyprus, must lie by the side of the road.

The women wear the Greek hlamyda. They are walking briskly up the hilly winding path, leaving the beggar behind. Soon they will reach their destination that is the glorious edifice in the picture. This monument represents the glorious past of Cyprus. Can these women be part of that past, in contradiction with the beggar who is part of the present? They are the Cyprus that was, and he is the Cyprus that is, unable to reach them



or the monastery; unable in other words to re-instate or re-live the past associated with the *Greek* or the *Frankish* elements. They point at him and discuss him but they move on to the monument where they belong, to the glorious past. A more positive interpretation could be that the women are the “soul” of the Greek culture, a timeless ideal which along with the ancient surviving abbey constitutes the glory of the Land and are there for the Cypriot to be inspired and rise to his past heights.

Alternatively, Cassas was perhaps identifying the Island and its inhabitants totally with western culture [the *hlamyda* being the attire of the ancient Greeks, Greece being part of Europe] to which it once belonged. All this is presented in a landscape that contains an impressive historic monument often compared to Tintern Abbey,<sup>70</sup> appearing rooted and immovable, strong evidence of a historic and Christian landscape. The painter chose to totally ignore the political status of the island. There is nothing to remind one of the Turkish dominance. In fact, as presented, the landscape is totally westernised and it could be a landscape in France.

His second view of Bellapais,<sup>71</sup> (illus. no. 45) is even more architectural than the first as it portrays a portico of the monument and under it an ancient sarcophagus that still exists in the abbey today. It is a fine example of ancient Greek art. Behind it one can see part of the Gothic cloisters of the abbey and in the distance the mountains yet again forming the horizon line. The picture constitutes a glorification of Gothic and Greek art overgrown by ivy and bushes but emanating a feeling of grandeur. The arched window has all the details of the gothic tradition accentuated by the light of the sky seen through it. In the foreground the viewer is faced with another small group of people. This consists of three women and a Cypriot scribe. The costumes worn by the group leave no

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<sup>70</sup> Sir Harry Luke: *Cyprus a Portrait and an Appreciation*, Harrap, London, 1964, p. 105: *Of the beauties of Bellapais it is beyond my power to give an adequate description; paints, not phrases, are the medium for the purpose. Bellapais has been compared with Tintern; but with what can Tintern match the sweeping curve of mountains, the blue sea and distant Asian ranges, the groves of oranges and lemons and the stonework tinged with gold?*

<sup>71</sup> The watercolour is inscribed: *Ruines du Monastère de Cozzafani*, 38 x 24 cm, pen and ink and watercolour, corresponding to the engraving of plate 104 in vol. III of Cassas *Voyage Pittoresque*. It was illustrated in black and white in Sotheby's catalogue of Atlases and Travel books, 30.6.1992, lot no. 16. It is now in a private collection in Nicosia, Cyprus.



doubt about their nationality. The scribe, like the beggar in the previous illustration, is wearing the blue pantaloons and holds a pen, writing on his lap. The three women are wearing long pantaloons and a Cypriot sayia [kind of coat] on top. They have their heads covered with white kerchiefs and they appear to be telling their story to the scribe; of course the whole scene is imaginary: most of the population was illiterate and once again women would not be seen wondering amongst the ruins. The imagery refers once again to the island's past. The scribe taking notes, placed in such a setting, leads to the assumption that what he is recording must be related to history. The female presence assumes once more the role of the soul of the land relating its story.

The third picture of Bellapais<sup>72</sup> (illus. no. 28) is not included in the "Voyage Pittoresque de la Syrie, de la Phoenicie etc." but has circulated as an engraving on its own.<sup>73</sup> This picture is perhaps the most impressive of the three. Cassas gives a different view of the monastery. It is taken from the interior courtyard and has a wide spectrum that allows full view of the cloisters, an appreciation of the position of the monastery and an impressive backdrop of the famous mountain of St. Hilarion, making visible even the fortifications on its top.<sup>74</sup> The colours are similar to the first view discussed, the mass of the building is made to look delicate enough by the detailed architectural treatment of the gothic arches of the cloisters. The trees and shrubs interlaced with the monument contrast with the bareness of the grandiose mountain with the ruins on its top; it is not by any means oppressive or frightening. In a way the mountain of St. Hilarion appears to be sheltering and protecting the monument. Both points of reference attest to the links that this site has with France. The abbey on the one hand, built by French monks in the Gothic style and the mountain on the other hand with the ruined fortified castle re-built by the Lusignan kings of Cyprus, both monuments in a landscape redolent with

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<sup>72</sup> This watercolour is titled: Vue du cloître de l'abbaye de Bellapais, pen and black ink and watercolour with gouache, 25 x 37 cm, presently in the collection of the Musée des Beaux Arts de Tours, inv. 991-5-2, acquired in 1991.

<sup>73</sup> Lambros Eftaxias collection in the Museum of the Town of Athens

<sup>74</sup> An incredible example of the architecture of the Middle Ages, in the form of a fortress, known also as Dieu d' Amour, or Didymous, was standing when Richard the Lionheart arrived in Cyprus in 1191. It is presently called St. Hilarion castle taking this name after the hermit Hilarion who is believed to have spent the evenings of his days there.

historical associations from that era. In the middle of the courtyard is a group of people. Five women are dancing in a circle and two more are standing by. It is a happy moment, they have their arms and legs in the air, dancing joyfully to the music of two men sitting on a pile of ancient stones playing the lute and the mandolin. Once again the costumes attest to the nationality of the persons depicted, this being strengthened by the movements exhibited in the dancing. Were they to be Turkish women, the movements would not be so free, and certainly they would be wearing their veils. They are Greek Cypriots rejoicing in the security of their ancient monuments, away from the crowds, in the relative freedom offered by the deserted countryside. There is hope in this picture. The painter restores to the Cypriots their vitality, which emanates from their past; they are surrounded, enveloped by their past, and are invigorated by the security it offers. This is yet another imaginary scene for the purpose of history and aesthetics.

At a time when France knew of the East only from the translated books of some English authors such as Robert Wood and James Dawkins,<sup>75</sup> and from scanty collections of views by French artists like Le Roy,<sup>76</sup> Cassas unfolded his panorama of the *Voyage Pittoresque*. He portrayed not only the architectural edifices and historical monuments, but the costumes and manners of the people of these distant lands. The pictures are in the early neo-classical taste but the master has added his personal touch of romantic sensibility, association and philhellenism. The views are architecturally precise, historically informative and aesthetically attractive and with symbolic imagery. In this panorama Cyprus is not presented as a province of the Ottoman Empire, although there are some traces of this to be found in the illustrations. Primarily it is portrayed from a viewpoint that accentuates the links of the French viewer with the glorious past of the island, the *âge d'or* of the Lusignan era, creating thus an affinity between the two. Cassas, by his careful choice of illustrations and his clearly philhellenic imagery understates the political status of the island and focuses instead on its natural beauties and a sense of familiarity that he conjured up from its glorious past. In this approach one

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<sup>75</sup> Robert Wood: A comparative view of the ancient and present state of the Troade. To which is prefixed an essay on the Original Genius of Homer, London, 1767,

<sup>76</sup> J.D. Le Roy: Les Ruines des plus beaux monuments de la Grèce, Paris, 1758



can appreciate the resentment of the artist, indeed that of the French towards the heathen *Other*, but also the genuine French sympathy towards the subservient Greeks of the Levant, especially towards the Cypriots with whom they shared a lengthy past. It is an attitude that differs to a certain extent from that of the English travellers or artists, who appear to be more *patronising* towards these people in their texts. They are more detached in their portrayals of the land, which are confined mainly to representations of monuments and landscapes without personage and certainly without any traces of personal emotions.

There is no doubt in my mind that Cassas, acknowledging the history of the island, and witnessing its present state, has chosen to celebrate its past by placing side by side two great periods in time and two great cultures, still obvious in Cyprus. By the end of his journey around the Island he had formed his own ideas and these are easily detected in his paintings which can be regarded as genuinely philhellenic. He abandoned the role of an observer, and expressed his feelings in his illustrations in a discreet but also explicit and picturesque manner that would not compromise in any way his patron's position.

### ***The naturalists: Ferdinand Bauer, Dr. Sibthorp and John Hawkins***

The botanical work of Dioscorides<sup>77</sup> has retained the admiration of scholars since its appearance in the first century. Thus, as travelling became increasingly more feasible and popular in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, Greece and the Levant remained the attraction and the ultimate destination of researchers in botany. The Italians were of course at an advantageous position, being closer to the area than the central European or Nordic scholars, but this did not deter the latter. Amongst them was Dr. John Sibthorp, [1758-1796] from Oxford, son of Humphrey Sibthorp, Sherardian Professor at Oxford University. After his studies in England and abroad, Sibthorp went to Vienna to study

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<sup>77</sup> Greek physician and pharmacologist (born 40 AD, died 90 AD), who wrote De Materia Medica in c. 77, the five volume foremost classical source of botanical terminology. He travelled with Nero's army studying over 600 plants and dealing with over 1000 simple drugs. His work was copied in seven languages and remained the primary text for pharmacology until the end of the fifteenth century. (The New Encyclopedia Britannica, 15<sup>th</sup> edition, vol. 4, p. 112).



the codex of Dioscorides, and plan thereon his botanical expedition to the Eastern Mediterranean.

Dr. John Sibthorp included Cyprus in his journey to Greece and the Ottoman Empire in 1787. He had already visited Athens, Smyrna, Bursa, the Bithynian Olympus and Constantinople as well as many islands of the Greek Archipelagos, including Milos and Crete. In March 1787, Dr. Sibthorp accompanied by John Hawkins,<sup>78</sup> landed in Cyprus together with Captain Emery, a serious classical scholar with keen interest in mineralogy, the professional painter Ferdinand Bauer, the geologist Lieutenant Colonel Ninian Imrie, an Armenian and a number of Greek and Turkish servants. There they spent five weeks studying the flora and the fauna of the island. The results of this study are a large collection of over three thousand specimens deposited by Sibthorp at the Botany department of the University of Oxford and a small collection of geological specimens deposited by Lt. Colonel Imrie at the Geology Museum of Edinburgh University. Both the flora and the fauna specimens collected by Dr. Sibthorp were not only carefully selected and preserved, but also meticulously illustrated by his artist Ferdinand Bauer. Most of the Cypriot specimens are illustrated in the Flora Graeca, published posthumously in 1806-1840 in ten volumes. Thirty complete series of this edition were issued and included engravings by James Sowerby. The person responsible for the editing and publication of the first six volumes was James Edward Smith, President of the Linnean Society. In his preface to the Prodrumus, that is the forerunner to the complete work, Smith refers to Sowerby:

*My first task was to find somebody capable of engraving illustrations accurately from the original drawings. This work is committed to Mr. James Sowerby, long celebrated in this art. Before the illustrations were engraved on copper, I took care to compare each one with the original, and then I checked diligently that the colour and appearance of each coloured illustration were correct.*<sup>79</sup>

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<sup>78</sup> See appendix.

<sup>79</sup> William T. Stearn: Sibthorp, Smith, the Flora Graeca and the Flora Graeca Prodrumus. Taxon , Utrecht, vol. 16, June 1969

Later, in 1845-46 a further forty copies were issued under the supervision of Dr. Daubeny<sup>80</sup>. There were in all 966 plates but these did not represent by any means the entire collection. It is a well known fact that Dr. Sibthorp was not particularly tidy with his notes. James Edward Smith, who was appointed first editor of Flora Graeca, was given some information by Hawkins about Sibthorp's methods. He was told that on their first tour, Sibthorp kept a proper diary and notes; but that when they reached Cyprus, due to the heat, and the shortage of time, Sibthorp did not keep a proper diary and did not determine with sufficient enough accuracy the names of plants at that moment<sup>81</sup>. Hawkins helped Smith decipher Sibthorp's handwriting and explained various points that were illegible. Furthermore, it was Hawkins who gave the Rev. Robert Walpole the permission to publish some of Sibthorp's notes and part of his journals in his book Travels in the East (1820). One wonders if Hawkins, being such a committed and faithful friend of Sibthorp did not go as far as supplementing or clarifying the journal of his friend wherever necessary for the sake of a more continuous and substantial work.

Ferdinand Bauer<sup>82</sup> was the son of Lukas Bauer, Court painter to the Court of Liechtenstein at Feldsberg. He had two brothers, Joseph, born in 1756 and Franz in 1758. Ferdinand, the youngest, was born in 1760. His father died a year later. The boys' education was seen to by the Abbot of Feldsberg, Father Norbert Boccus. Ferdinand, being interested in the arts, was working under Nicolas Von Jacquin in Vienna when first approached by Dr. Sibthorp at the recommendation of Jacquin himself. Bauer agreed to accompany Sibthorp on his travels at the price of eighty pounds per annum plus expenses.

Sibthorp was delighted with Bauer's talent and also with his devotion to his work and his methodology. In a letter to Hawkins he wrote:

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<sup>80</sup> Information on the publishing of the Flora Graeca from the Dictionary of National Biographies vol. 52

<sup>81</sup> W. Stearn: Sibthorp, Smith, the Flora Graeca and the Flora Graeca Prodrumus, p. 170

<sup>82</sup> See appendix.



*My painter in each part of natural history is Princeps Pictorum; he joins to the taste of the painter, the knowledge of a naturalist, and animal, plant or fossil touched by his hand shew the master.*<sup>83</sup> Writing to his father on May 11th to inform him of his plans, Sibthorp refers to his draughtsman: *I am particularly fortunate with a draughtsman; his good temper and honest countenance endear him to one much. He has made more than a hundred designs of different plants found about Florence, Rome and Naples. At present we have only time to sketch the outline and to finish a flower and a leaf.*<sup>84</sup> In Italy, Bauer made sketches of plants [374 collected] as well as drawings of some of the most interesting monuments.

The voyage of 1787 was rather awkward for Bauer. He did not quite belong to the company of the gentlemen he was employed by, nor did he belong to the escort formed by the servants. He felt rather lonely and isolated. When he left Vienna in 1786 he spoke only German and there is nothing to suggest that he spoke English in the following twelve months, while Sibthorp and Hawkins both spoke German, English and Greek fluently. Even six years later, when Bauer was living in England his English was still not fluent. He would have been completely cut off, were it not for a little Greek he managed to pick up on the way. While on their travels Bauer managed to work up a series of 141 drawings of topographical views most of which are now in the collection of the Plants and Science library of the Botany dept. of the University of Oxford.<sup>85</sup> These views were executed much later after Bauer's return to England and after the completion of his work for the Flora Graeca. Some of the finer pieces were used by the editors for vignettes to decorate chapters. In an article in the Oxford Chronicle October 18th 1917, titled "An Addition to Oxford's Art Treasures," the drawings are described as... *of the high order of excellence which his floral pictures would lead one to expect..* These are large pen and ink drawings with watercolours in monochrome, numbered by the painter himself on the right hand upper corner and the numbering follows the

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<sup>83</sup> Letter from Sibthorp in Vienna to Hawkins in Saxony, dated March 3rd 1786 Hawkins Papers 112, in the Sussex Record Office.

<sup>84</sup> Sibthorp to Dr. Sibthorp, Naples 11 May 1786, Sibthorp mss., Ms. Sherard 215, Bodleian Library, Oxford University.

<sup>85</sup> These were found by a certain Mr. G. Claridge in Vienna and given to the University, in 1917.



chronology of execution and therefore the timetable of the journey. Amongst these are three views of Cyprus. These vary slightly in size and are not signed but inscribed:

No. 82: *View of Ipsora a village in the I: Cyprus*: [312 x 460 mm] (illus. no. 46). The village of Ipsora, or Upsera, as Sibthorp himself refers to it in his journal, hosted the travellers for the night:

*At noon after a ride of five hours, we arrived at Upsera, about a mile from Famagusta, we observed some small lakes to our right and left. These were frequented by different species of grallae: we had shot the Adrea Alba, which flew over the convent, in the morning. The desolation we had observed at Famagusta extended itself along the country we now traversed. We passed by the mouldering ruins of several Greek villages, and slept at a Greek cottage at Upsera. This, like other villages we passed, seemed by the desertion of its inhabitants to be hastening to ruin: it was pleasantly situated on the side of a hill; a fertile vale stretched beneath it, bounded by the approaching mountains of Antiphonitis.*<sup>86</sup>

Ipsora is the village known today by the name of Gypsou. It takes its name from the nearby hills called Ypsari, which were known for their gypsum deposits. In the Cypriot dialect, quite often the letter Y is substituted by the letter G.<sup>87</sup> This small village was marked in the old maps as Ipso. Nearby are traces of ancient habitations in the form of graves and wells.<sup>88</sup> Dr. Sibthorp's description justified fully Bauer's illustration. Taken from behind the village, the landscape is barren in the immediate foreground and the mountains rise in the background. There is no obvious life in the village; the existence of the church, humble but not in ruins attests to some habitation in the area. It has no steeple or bell, as neither was permitted during the Ottoman occupation of Cyprus; "cottage" is almost a euphemism when referring to the poor single room huts of the

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<sup>86</sup> C. D. Cobham: Excerpta Cypria: Sibthorp's journals, April 18th, 1787, p. 327.

<sup>87</sup> Niarchos Clerides: The villages and towns of Cyprus, Nicosia 1961, p. 70. Also, identified by Dr. Menelaos Christodoulou, authority on the toponyms of Cyprus at the Cyprus Research Centre

<sup>88</sup> George Jeffery: A description of the Historic Monuments of Cyprus, Zeno Publishers, London, 1983, p. 241.

semi-deserted village. It is plausible to assume that the travellers did not just cross a village that happened to be on their way, but sought out this village as it would have been of special interest to the geologist of the group, Lt. Col. Imrie.<sup>89</sup> An interesting comment was made by Dr. Sibthorp and included as a footnote in Rev. Robert Walpole's book Travels in The East:<sup>90</sup>

*In the Greek village of Ipsera, five hours from Famagusta, the girls of the place, as a relief to their sunburnt faces, had stained their eyelids. On inquiring respecting the nature of the process, I found that these village coquettes had used no more costly paint than lamp-black; this, mixed with oil, was drawn through their eyelids on a small iron roller.*

No. 81: *View of the Monastery of the Holy Cross upon Monte Croce in the I. Cyprus* [320 x 467 mm] (illus. no. 47). A rather dark illustration of the famous monastery where St. Helena was supposed to have deposited the cross of the good thief and a piece of the Holy Cross of Christ. The mountain and the monastery is drawn from the north, facing the large rock that rests besides it to the East. The Bay of Larnaca is seen in the distance with three sailing boats in it. Shrubs decorate the centre right forefront of the picture, but the viewer's eye is caught not so much by the building of the monastery itself, but by the rock that rests on the edge of the precipice. The foreground of the illustration is rather dark while the background with the sea at the horizon is sunny. This, in conjunction with the angle from which the monastery is portrayed leads us to believe that the sketch was executed early morning. As the following extract shows, there was no time for sketching upon arrival (on April 12th):

*After dinner we lost our way in the mountains covered with pinus pinea; we arrived late at a hamlet belonging to the convent; and about one hour distant from it. The ascent*

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<sup>89</sup> Lt. Col. Imrie collected many geological samples from Cyprus. He donated his collection to the University of Edinburgh, in 1786. Unfortunately this collection was lost in the last century.

<sup>90</sup> Memoirs relating to European and Asiatic Turkey, and other countries of the East; edited from manuscript journals by Robert Walpole MA, the second edition, London, Printed for Longman, Hurst, Rees, Orme, and Brown, 1818, vol. 1, p. 77



*was deep and difficult; and the sun set soon after our arrival. Disappointed at finding the convent quite deserted, and no habitation being near, we resolved upon attempting an entrance by force. The different instruments we had brought with us for digging were employed: but without success. At length a Caloyer (Greek for monk) arrived with the key, and having opened the door of the church, we discovered some straw mattresses; these were drawn before the altar, and we lay down to repose.*<sup>91</sup>

The next morning, according to the journal, the travellers left at 8.00 a.m.

No. 80: *View of Monte Croce in the Isle of Cyprus - from the South* [317x462 mm] (illus. no.48). This is the least interesting of the three views of Cyprus, being another version of the previous one but this time taken from the south. The foreground is darker than the background of the picture, this must have been executed in the early afternoon. The top of the mountain appears bare with a tree line on the lower hill in the front. The depiction of the monastery is rather insignificant, the artist wanting to give an overall feeling of the topography of the area rather than presenting the monument, which is of secondary importance. *The mountain, a bluish grey argillaceous rock thinly covered with earth, furnished but few plants; a species of Astragalus, which I do not find mentioned by Linneus, grew in abundance. I saw the Valeriana tuberosa, which is certainly the mountain-nardus of Dioscorides, on the summit.*<sup>92</sup> These plants are included in the Flora Graeca. Bauer's meticulousness astonishes the viewer. Even when painting out of the strict boundaries of his contract, that is the flora and fauna, he still aspires and succeeds in giving detailed and precise illustrations, which, although topographical, can almost be called equally scientific as the rest of his work. Cyprus must have been for Bauer a challenge as regards the botanical material. Sibthorp was collecting avidly, travelling at a quick pace and not keeping proper notes.<sup>93</sup> The heat in Cyprus was not helping, nor was Sibthorp's attitude as he was immersed in his work

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<sup>91</sup> C. D. Cobham: Excerpta Cypria, Sibthorp's journal, p. 326

<sup>92</sup> *Ibid* p. 326

<sup>93</sup> Ms. Sherard, 283-40



and interests which did not leave much time for enjoying the country, or coming into contact with the people.

However, Hawkins also sketched. I believe that at certain points he assisted the painter Bauer with sketches which Bauer finished later, especially those pertaining to topography. What survives in the Hawkins papers at the West Sussex County Record Office<sup>94</sup> (*A rough travel diary kept by John Hawkins during a botanical expedition in Turkey, Greece Cyprus and Rhodes. 1 vol, n.d. with some loose papers*, whose contents are almost the same as the edited version that Rev. Robert Walpole published as Dr. Sibthorp's diaries<sup>95</sup>), are purely topographical or genre scenes. This proves Hawkins' general interest in the lands they visited and his understanding of his own limitations, hence his refraining from illustrations of flora and fauna, which he left to the specialist. The handwriting of the annotations of the topographical views varies, in some cases it is that of Hawkins and in others that of Bauer. The two colleagues and friends shared more than is apparent at first glance and not only the greatest part of the execution of the Flora Graeca. A case in point is the illustration of the monastery of the Holy Cross, where we are told that Hawkins rose up early and drew the site, whereas there is no mention of Bauer working at that point. The annotation of the second view of the monastery of the Holy Cross from the South is written in two different hands, the first part that of Bauer and "from the South" that of Hawkins.<sup>96</sup>

I have not as yet managed to find any of Hawkins' drawings of Cyprus although we have his own testimony in his diary of having made some drawings in the island. While visiting the monastery of the Holy Cross, and having spent the night there, sleeping in straw mattresses in front of the altar of the chapel Hawkins writes that ...*I rose early from my uncomfortable bedroom and choosing an advantageous point of view, made a drawing of the situation of the mountain. The summit of the mountain being narrow the*

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<sup>94</sup> Number MF 1270, Hawkins papers 19

<sup>95</sup> The Rev. Robert Walpole: Travels in various countries in the East, Longman, Hurst, London, 1820

<sup>96</sup> I am indebted to Prof. H. W. Lack, Director of the Botanischer Garten und Botanisches Museum, Berlin-Dahlen, for pointing out this fact and discussing with me the possibilities of such an event.

*foundations of the walls were partly laid in the declivity and the eastern extremity abutted on a huge rock with which the masonry so well evolved that age and ivy had since given it the appearance of one solid mass.*<sup>97</sup> It is worth noting that the exact same spot exists as a drawing attributed to Ferdinand Bauer, with annotations as to the exact position. Yet Hawkins made no mention of this fact. It is peculiar that two people at the same place, painting the same spot, on the same day, have not had some kind of conversation or comment or even compared notes on their work, even the slightest exchange of views worthy enough to include in one's diary. Hawkins and Bauer were on good terms, more so than Bauer and Sibthorp. In the West Sussex County Record Office there is a number of sketches by Hawkins which prove that the man was an amateur illustrator, and enjoyed this pastime. None of them is inscribed "Cyprus" although most of them bear inscriptions. Amongst them there are some rough sketches of mountains that could be of the mountains of the Troodos range (illus. no. 49), where Kykko Monastery lies, as well as a mountainous coastline which might be part of north-west Cyprus<sup>98</sup> (illus. no. 50). Both Hawkins and Bauer were extremely busy while in Cyprus with the plethora of work accumulated by Sibthorp. We know from the diaries that Bauer had no time to finish any drawings but made sketches to which he returned when he was in England.

Some eighty specimens in the Prodromus to Flora Graeca are mentioned as found only in Cyprus. An even larger number is quoted as found in Cyprus and other parts of the Greek regions, especially in the island of Zakynthos. The original watercolours that still preserve the most exquisite, clear and strong colours, often bear inscriptions in pencil defining the country of origin of the species. One could not claim that these were inscribed by the artist himself; Hawkins and Dr. James Edward Smith, the executors of Sibthorp's will, joined efforts in identifying the watercolours and the species while preparing for the publication of the Prodromus.

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<sup>97</sup>Number MF 1270, Hawkins papers 19, April 12, 1787.

<sup>98</sup> West Sussex Record Office: Hawkins PD no. 156, 157, 162.



The first original numbering given by Bauer to his watercolours and the numbers used in the Flora Graeca, enable one to distinguish some of the examples bearing the inscription "Cyprus." Thus: *Nigella Arvensis* 15, 512 (illus. no. 51), *Phoeniceum* 27, 489 (illus. no. 52), *Glancium violaceum* 28, 490 (illus. no. 53), *Corydalis rutifolia* 31, 667 (illus. no. 54), *Bunias terrisfolia* 35, 614 (illus. no. 55), *Lepidium spinosum* 37, 617 (illus. no. 56). This does not mean that all of the Cypriot species were included in the publication. Some were included in the Prodromus and not the Flora Graeca. The depictions of mammals, fish, birds, that is the *Fauna Graeca Sibthorpiana*, or *drawings of the animals of Greece and the Levant*, still remain unpublished to this day. The task of publication would be enormous as the paintings are not inscribed or identified as to their place of origin.

From 1788 to 1793, Ferdinand Bauer lived in Oxford under the direct supervision of Sibthorp. After 1790 he visited London more often where his brother Franz worked for Sir Joseph Banks at Kew Gardens. By this time the friendship between Bauer and Sibthorp had deteriorated, beginning with disagreements concerning Bauer's remuneration. The artist felt underpaid [he was receiving one hundred pounds per annum] and inconsiderately treated by his employer: *Though Sibthorp spoke in his letters of Bauer's skill as an artist, he was never able or willing to get on friendly terms with him, even at a time when they were travelling without any other company than the servants and boatmen; before the end of the summer Sibthorp decided that for his next year's travel he would have to have a companion of his own nationality, age and class.*<sup>99</sup> Hawkins tried to ease matters but failed.<sup>100</sup> Answering to Hawkins' request for further employment and travelling, Bauer did not mince his words:....*he said that Sibthorp's conduct had always been so inconsiderate, and travelling with him was so*

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<sup>99</sup> M. R. Bruce: John Sibthorp, a lecture delivered at the School of Botany, Oxford {research seminar} May 29th 1969, reprinted from *Taxon* 19 {3}:353-362, June 1970

<sup>100</sup> Hawkins to Sibthorp, London, 11 June 1792, Hawkins Papers 2765, Bodleian Library, Oxford.



*unpleasant, that he would have to ask to be excused going with him again..*<sup>101</sup> After Sibthorp's death, Bauer did not carry on with the Flora Graeca.<sup>102</sup>

Bauer, Sibthorp and Hawkins constitute a good example of the "naturalists" who appeared in the second half of the eighteenth century. Following Linnaeus' *System of Nature*, this group of travellers and explorers aimed at constructing a global-scale classification through the description and naming of plants, animals and natural resources. By giving names and identifications of the flora and fauna of foreign lands in the language system they were used to, they familiarized the former with their Euroimperialist attitudes and created a point of reference. Parallel to this they also produced *order*. Creating order gave them the feeling of hegemony over the land in a peaceful and passive way that did not involve expansionism or any conquering claims on their part. As stated by Mary Louise Pratt, *the system created a utopian, innocent vision of European global authority, which I refer to as an anti-conquest*.<sup>103</sup> By merely representing, they produced a picture of the world, of what they saw and found, serving thus another purpose: they opened up to the European world the value and importance of the countries they visited. They presented aspects of the land to be further assessed in relation with European economic and political expansionism. Ipsora is a village that has gypsum deposits. It lies clearly within Bauer's illustration and information as to its size, topography, location and habitation can be deduced. The monastery of the Holy Cross lies within a landscape that is uninhabited and where the geographical, geological and geomorphic conditions are emphasized. The watercolours are informative as far as a Eurocolonial future is concerned, that is, prospects of inland resources of the foreign land.

Just as the naturalists systematized the indigenous methods of production abroad, the urban centres in Europe, feeling acutely their dependency on the countryside, started a

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<sup>101</sup> M. R. Bruce: John Sibthorp, reprinted from *Taxon* 19{3}: 353-362. June 1970

<sup>102</sup> F. Bauer to Hawkins, London 25 July 1797, Hawkins Papers 251

<sup>103</sup> Mary Louise Pratt: Imperial Eyes, travel writing and transculturation, Routledge, London and New York, 1992, p. 39

new relationship with it. Within this framework, agricultural methods, peasant labor and rationalization of production were being categorized and studied in order to further improve knowledge and results. It was a difficult task which involved the understanding and acceptance by the urban bourgeoisie of the countryfolk as was required by Dr. Sibthorp to understand and accept not only the methods of the indigenous population but that as well of his "subordinate" employee Ferdinand Bauer.

### *A Spanish visitor: Jose Moreno*

Contrary to systematizing nature, navigational mapping aimed at controlling routes and providing the opportunity for the travellers to register monuments, regional curiosities and to baptize landmarks with Euro-Christian names exerting thus their influence and authority. The maps, however, were of specific geographical interest and did not appeal to the wider public.

One example of such a navigational map surfaced recently in the Greek market, (illus. no. 57) hand-drawn, including annotations and with a short description on the right hand upper corner in Spanish. It portrays the bay of Larnaca, but there is no indication as to who may have drawn the map. The style, handwriting and description places its execution towards the end of the eighteenth century. Jose Moreno, a Spanish naval officer in the service of the King, published his journal *Viage a Constantinople en el Ano D. 1784* in Madrid, 1790. In the appendix II of this publication entitled "De otro viage a Chipre y las costas de Siria en 1788" Moreno wrote about a special mission that his King had ordered: two Spanish warships that were in the vicinity of Tangiers were requested by the king of Morocco to transport a group of important guests to Constantinople; having accomplished the mission, they were then asked on the way back to look for and deliver back to Morocco the son-in-law of the ruler, Prince Muley Abdul Malek who was on his way back from Mecca. The *Santa Cecilia* and the *Adrilla*, under the command of Brigadier Don Filipe Lopez de Carrizosa, and with Moreno included in the mission, set forth on this journey, making the island of Cyprus their first stop in order to obtain information about the Syrian coast. They arrived on the 21st of



May at Larnaca causing a great uproar since the inhabitants had never seen the Spanish flag before and were frightened at the sight of unknown warships. The captains of other merchant ships calmed their fears explaining that these were Spanish ships on a short friendly visit. Moreno described the small bay of Larnaca and the exchange of courtesies between the captain and the local authorities; he noted that at a short distance from the beach a spring flowed down from the high Mount Trinity to the fortress, which was delapidated and being rebuilt then. *As the time drew near to leave Cyprus, having obtained all the usefull information and using the rest of the time to draw a map of Larnaca bay, we weighed anchor after two days on the 23rd May.*<sup>104</sup> The map, (illus. no 56) found recently in Greece, illustrates the newly baptized Mount of Trinity which is no other than the Mountain of the Holy Cross, described and illustrated by many travellers. The fort mentioned by Moreno is also drawn on the map and an annotation defines it as antique. Furthermore, on the coastline is a minute drawing of the village of the Marina (Scala) and a drawing of the aquaduct of Larnaca. A single mill (annotated) is also portrayed, which re-appears in a similar view of the coast of Larnaca by Benjamin Mary, a Belgian diplomat who visited Cyprus in 1844. The map is a naval map recording the distances and being very specific. The similarities leave no doubt that this particular map is the one Moreno claims to have drawn while anchored in Cyprus. Although a small province of the Ottoman Empire, the island was still visited by ships of various nationalities and the people of Cyprus were esteemed seafaring enough to offer useful information.

### ***Under British patronage: Luigi Mayer***

A few years later, another patron of the arts, Sir Robert Ainslie, British Ambassador to the Porte, commissioned Luigi Mayer,<sup>105</sup> an Austro-Italian painter to travel to the Ottoman dominions and portray the beauties of these places. Luigi Mayer was born in Rome and was a student of Giovanni Battista Piranesi. He was employed for many years by the King of Naples for whom he painted views of the ruins in Sicily. Later, he

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<sup>104</sup> Jose Moreno: A journey to Constantinople in the year 1784, Appendix II, Madrid 1790, p. xxvii.



worked for Sir Robert Ainslie. While in Constantinople, Luigi Mayer met and married Clara Barthold who was also an accomplished painter. Her main interest lay in the portrayal of the shores of the Bosphorus.

Mayer visited Cyprus in February 1792 when asked by Robert Ainslie to escort a group of esteemed visitors from England on a tour to Asia Minor and some islands of the Archipelagos. The artist initially accompanying the group had abandoned them under some unpleasant circumstances and Ainslie requested Mayer to replace him and after all produce views for the Ambassador himself.<sup>106</sup> They travelled to Egypt, Palestine, Syria, Caramania, Rhodes, Macri, Lindos, Halicarnassos and Samos. Two years later, in 1794, Luigi Mayer and his wife accompanied Sir Robert Ainslie back to England painting on the way views of Turkey, Bulgaria and Romania.

Luigi Mayer died on March 1st 1803. Sir Robert Ainslie gave the first lot of the artist's work to be engraved and printed to two different publishers, William Watts and Robert Bowyer. In 1803, Robert Bowyer published Views in the Ottoman Empire, chiefly in Caramania, a part of Asia Minor hitherto unexplored; with some curious selections from the Islands of Rhodes and Cyprus, and the celebrated cities of Corinth, Carthage and Tripoli: From the Original drawings in the possession of Sir R. Ainslie, taken during his Embassy to Constantinople by Luigi Mayer: with historical observations and incidental illustrations of the manners and customs of the natives of the country. London: published by R. Bowyer at the Historic Gallery, Pall Mall T. Bensley Printer, Bolt Court, Fleet street 1803.

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<sup>105</sup> See appendix.

<sup>106</sup> Bodleian Library Oxford, Ms Eng. Misc. 433 vol.1, The manuscript carries a note saying that it consists of the notes of Frederick North during his trip to the Levant in 1791-2. This cannot be so, as Lord Guilford did not visit all the places mentioned in this journal. Further annotations on the title page refer to the collection of Phillips no.20993 and to a certain Greaves. The true identity of the author is not yet established. On p.180: *we had dismissed the artist which we brought with us from Rome, and we were fortunate enough to supply his place by a man who was an excellent draughtsman and a pleasant agreeable companion. His name was Mayer. We became acquainted with him at the Ambassador's in whose employment he had been many years. The Ambassador.... had long wished for an opportunity of sending his artist to Egypt and Syria that he might make his collection of drawings complete.*

This volume contains twenty four aquatints amongst which two of Cyprus: *Antique Fragments at Limisso* (illus. no. 58) and *A colossal vase near Limisso in Cyprus* (illus. no. 59), the vase portrayed being a massive pythos now in the Louvre. Mayer painted more scenes of Cyprus, *The Thermae with Piscinae in the neighbourhood of the town of Limassol, the ancient Amathunta in the Island of Cyprus* (illus. no. 60), signed, inscribed and dated 1792, (36X54 cm) and *Roadstead in the Island of Cyprus, showing the ramparts of Amathunta and the town of Limassol*, (illus. no.61) signed, inscribed, dated 1792, (36X54 cm.) both in watercolours.<sup>107</sup> Once again, the works follow the traditional style of the late eighteenth century topographical views which, made with the intention of illustrating travel books are informative and picturesque. The figures which exist in all these views are in Turkish costumes, well defined and in the proper colouring. The painting of the Thermae and Piscinae, contains three figures in European attire. One can safely assume that they belong to the artist's company. An interesting innovation presented in Mayer's illustrations are the animals. In his painting *Fragments in Limassol*, donkeys are being loaded, or resting in the courtyard;<sup>108</sup> while in the painting of the vase of Amathunda, a dog is sitting obediently at the feet of its master. People around are carrying sporting guns, as mentioned in the commentray of the book. Although Turks figure in all the paintings, they are set in clearly Greek surroundings. The vase is part of the ancient history of Cyprus. It was believed that it was used in ceremonial rituals for the goddess of Aphrodite, worshipped in Amathus:

*In the neighbourhood of this city (Limassol), Mr. Mayer discovered an ancient vase thirty feet in circumference, and nine inches thick. It is of stone, and its external surface is very hard but on the inside the sandy particles easily rub off on the finger, and emit a*

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<sup>107</sup>Bodleian Library Oxford, Ms Eng. Misc. 434 vol. 2,: The author has noted *A catalogue of Drawings made in this Tour*. These follow a chronological order amounting to 164 upon arrival to Cyprus, and facing p. 208 are listed three drawings made on the island under nos. 65: *A view of ruins on the remains of the temple of Venus and Adonis at Amathus in the island of Cyprus*. 66: *View of a vase found in the ruins of Amathus in the island of Cyprus*. 68: *View of the ruins of the city wall of Amathus, with a distant view of New Limassol, in the island of Cyprus*. The drawing of *Antique fragments in Limisso* is not listed there or anywhere else in the journal.

<sup>108</sup> In the eighteenth century, transport in Cyprus was done on donkeys or mules. Cyprus was known for the sturdiness of these animals which were often exported to Syria.



*smell resembling petroleum, as is the general case of the stone of this island. This vase stands in a very lonely spot, occasionally visited only by persons in pursuit of game, to whom the bull that appears in the hollow of one of the ears has sometimes served for a mark to shoot out for wagers, or as a trial of their skill.*<sup>109</sup>

He also refers to the Greek myth of Venus and Adonis and takes the opportunity to talk of the wines of Cyprus, usually stored in huge clay vases. He comments on the vast amount of antique fragments lying around in the island, pillars and sculptures which *the ignorant native greeks maltreat and allow to fall into further decay.*<sup>110</sup>

Mayer was in Amathus in 1792. He did not *discover* the vase<sup>111</sup> but was directed to the site by the locals where it is mentioned that there were two, possibly three identical vases next to each other.<sup>112</sup> Edmond Duthoit, a French artist who visited Cyprus in 1862 attests to this fact and has produced sketches of the two vases.<sup>113</sup> Mayer purposely refrained from representing the second vase and his watercolour has only one central focal point. I cannot think of any reason for this omission other than the fact that the second vase was not in good order and would detract from rather than add to the picture.

The Fragments in Limassol portray an interior courtyard of a house, two-storied, with a gallery supported by columns with corinthian capitals; they consist of fragments of Ionian, Doric, Corinthian designs on undefined bases. The amalgamation of architectural styles, in conjunction with the figures of Turks, could be reflecting the artist's opinion as regards Turkish archaeological illiteracy. This is accentuated by the

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<sup>109</sup> Sir Robert Ainslie/Luigi Mayer: Views in the Ottoman Dominions, Robert Bower, London, 1803, pp. 17-22.

<sup>110</sup> *Ibid* pp. 17-22

<sup>111</sup> Richard Pococke visited Amathus in 1738 and refers to it in his book Description of the East, 1743-5

<sup>112</sup> Sir Robert Ainslie/Luigi Mayer: Views in the Ottoman Dominions, p. 188: *On the highest part of the ground in the back of the city we found two or three immense vases cut out of stone in a very masterly manner.*

<sup>113</sup> Jacques Foucart-Borville: La correspondance Chypriote d' Edmond Duthoit (1862 et 1865) in the Centre d' Etudes Chypriotes, Cahier 4, 1985, p. I.IV



way the two Turkish figures are portrayed examining curiously the seat made out of stone in the ancient Greek style of a *thronos*. However, such a building did not exist in the small town of Limassol nor is there any reference to it in any other document or illustration. Furthermore it is not included in the catalogue of drawings within the manuscript<sup>114</sup> leading one to believe that the engraving of the painting was wrongly titled and that contrary to popular belief it does not represent Cyprus.

In the picture of the Roadstead of Amathonda, the Turks are transporting square ancient stones; in fact one is being loaded on the boat. Finally the last picture mentioned, that of the *Thermae and Piscinae*, portrays the ruins of what used to be the church of St. Tychon. There is nothing in the topography of the pictures to testify to Turkish elements except those of the costumes. We clearly have a landscape containing Greek historical references occupied by Turks. But Mayer does not enter this point in his descriptions. He merely represents it in his paintings.

These last two views which are in fact unique testimonies of the antiquities in Amathus are the only existing documents portaying the place as it was back in the eighteenth century. The column and the cornice in the foreground of the Roadstead of Amathonda do not come from the ramparts but from another building on the acropolis opposite the wall. Excavations in 1989 by The French Archaeological Mission have brought to light pieces sharing the same architectural characteristics, which prove the accuracy of Mayer's representation.<sup>115</sup> The masonry in the foreground and the wall beyond do not exist today; this makes Mayer's illustration a unique record of the existence of a fortification wall on the seashore which archaeologists date to the hellenistic period.<sup>116</sup> Only the part protruding from north to south in the middle of the picture barely survives. Mayer portrayed the destruction of the fortifications as these were being dismantled and transported to an unknown destination, once again with reference to the Turkish rulers

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<sup>114</sup> Oxford Bodleian Library: *Misc.434*, vol. 2: Nos. 65, 66, 68 are stated as views of Cyprus, while no. 67 is listed as a view of the ruins of Zalamis (sic) at Agrigentum in Sicily

<sup>115</sup> Centre D' Etudes Chypriotes, Cahier 13, 1990: Pierre Aupert: Le peintre Luigi Mayer a Amathonde, pp. 5-9

<sup>116</sup> *Ibid* pp. 5 -7

of the land. Archaeologists have not as yet been able to determine where these stones were being transported, unless we are to assume this to be a clear case of pillaging of the antiquities of Cyprus. The watercolour attests to the scale of the island's antique remains and to their subsequent despoilation.

Having consulted the illustration of the *Thermae and Piscinae*, the French Archeological Mission in Cyprus believed that the monument portrayed can be none other than the ancient church of St. Tychon in the same area and therefore assumed that Mayer's title, inscribed at the back of the picture, is erroneous.<sup>117</sup> Being an artist and not a historian, he was only occupied with illustrating it, and it was presumably his compatriots who mistakenly identified the monument as a temple to Venus.<sup>118</sup> In fact various other travellers refer to this church, and none refer to *thermae* and *piscinae*. Ali Bey has also portrayed this edifice which he calls St. Tychon<sup>119</sup> and when we compare the two drawings, we find that Mayer's picture offers more information, as the south wall of the church is still in existence while in the time of Ali Bey only the North wall is standing. In a time span of fourteen years the destruction was more than obvious due to the continuous pillaging that went on for decades.

Unlike Louis Francois Cassas, Luigi Mayer, being under British patronage, does not look for or portray the Lusignan monuments. Instead, he went further back and concerned himself only with the antiquities of Cyprus, presumably directed to do so by his patron. Robert Ainslie is a typical figure of the Grand Tour. And the interests of the Grand Tour travellers were focused primarily on the classical civilisation of these distant lands. Classical themes were *en vogue* and the mythology linking Cyprus and Greece raised expectations as to similar archaeological finds. They identified Cyprus with the birthplace of Venus and were in pursuit of the goddess's abode. Bearing in mind his patron's plans of producing a book based on these views, Mayer was

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<sup>117</sup> *Ibid* p. 7

<sup>118</sup> Sir Robert Ainslie/Luigi Mayer: *Views in the Ottoman Empire*, p. 188: *we found the ruins of an ancient temple which we judged might have been that dedicated to Venus and Adonis and mentioned within the Anead 10.51...*

<sup>119</sup> Ali Bey el Abbassi: *Travels in Africa and Asia 1803-1806*, plate XXXVI



particularly careful not to express any sentiments within his illustrations or commentary which could compromise his patron's position. All effort is put towards aesthetically beautiful representations with historical references, appealing thus to the interest of an elite readership back home and which would encourage political and expansionist mapping.

The artist's success resulted in many reproductions of his works appearing as engravings illustrating books in different languages<sup>120</sup> and even in their use for decorative designs of the famous and popular Carmania tableware made by Spode in the early nineteenth century.<sup>121</sup>

### *In search of Venus: Ali Bey*

Don Domingo Badia-y-Leyblich,<sup>122</sup> a Catalan born in Barcelona on 1<sup>st</sup> April 1767 and living in Madrid was determined to visit the holy places of Islam. He accepted an invitation to participate in a government scientific mission to North Africa in 1803 and just before went to Paris and London to equip himself with the necessary scientific instruments. In order to be accepted and received well in those distant lands, he announced himself as Ali Bey el Abbaasi, son of Othman Bey of Aleppo, prince of the Abbassides, directly descended from the uncle of Mohammad and he travelled dressed as a Muslim. He visited Fez, Morocco, Tripoli, Cyprus, Egypt, Mecca, Medina and the Levant over a period of four years. He found himself in Cyprus when the vessel that was taking him from Tripoli to Alexandria mistook its course, landed in Sapienza near

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<sup>120</sup> J. A. Bergk: Ansichten von der Türkei, hauptsächliche von Caramanien, einem bisher wenig bekannten Theile von Kleinasien, Nebst einer Auswahl merkwürdiger Ansichten von den Inseln Rodus und Cypern...Corinth, Carthago und Tripoli, Leipzig, 1812, is a characteristic example.

<sup>121</sup> Earthenware whose decoration was inspired by the Chinese blue and white designs of the willow tree pattern and which in the early nineteenth century, while using the same colours adopted the designs to the fashion requirements of the period. Thus, scenes from India and the Middle East, especially from the coastline of Turkey, were used as decoration on dinner services and other earthenware items applied on the items through the transfer-printing method. Mayer's paintings for the Views from the Ottoman Empire were all used to this purpose c. 1815.

<sup>122</sup> See appendix.

Morea and then having fallen into a terrible storm, was driven to Cyprus. In March 1806 Ali Bey disembarked at Limassol where he was accommodated by Demetrios Francoudis, the then Vice-Consul of England.

His travelogue first appeared in French in 1814 published by P. Didot l'Aine with a dedication to Louis XVIII and titled *Voyages d' Ali Bey en Afrique et en Asie pendant les années 1803, 1804, 1805, 1806 et 1807*, illustrated by his own drawings. A delightful character, full of enthusiasm and eagerness to see things, well-read and restless, he seemed to know the basic history of Cyprus and appeared almost obsessed with the idea of visiting the birthplace of Venus or Aphrodite, the goddess of beauty and love. The goddess' choice of this island for her abode should be in his opinion attributed to the beauty of the land and its women. With this assumption and anticipation Ali Bey set forth to see for himself. He arrived in Cyprus in March when the island is at its best. The weather was pleasant and the landscape was at its greenest, thus at certain early points of his trip: *The country at first exhibited hills rising in steps and clothed with fine verdure; they presented most smiling views, worthy of the goddess to whose worship the island was consecrated.*<sup>123</sup> The landscape pleased the traveller, but when it came to the female population:

*It is among the Greeks that we ought to seek the type of the Venus de Medici; but how find it when they never allow themselves to be seen? Possibly the little charm there is about other Greek women enhances that of the Cypriots. Perhaps the coquettish and dissolute manners then prevailing in the island turned the heads of painters, sculptors and poets as much as beauty would have done. I confess that putting aside the conventional type which I noticed about all modern Greek women, the result perhaps of the depression and stupor of their political position, their round and expressionless faces, their loose bosoms, and their awkward gait do not give one a favourable idea of the much vaunted beauty of their ancestors; and I am judging by women considered good-looking in their own country, and who really were so in my eyes.*<sup>124</sup>

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<sup>123</sup> Ali Bey el Abbassi: *The travels of Ali Bey in Africa and Asia*, London, 1816, vol. 1, p. 264

<sup>124</sup> *Ibid* p. 405



The artist was disappointed. Cypriot women did not stand up to the reputation of their ancestors. The political conditions and poverty prevailing on the island left no room for coquetry and once again the population appears little exotic and more uncivilized, unfit to be the descendants of the classical Greeks. This of course put the visitor on a plinth making him feel superior and enhancing his imperialist attitudes.

Ali Bey's thirst for discovery led him on long journeys into the hinterland where he occupied himself with illustrations of landscapes with classical references but attesting also to the political situation on the island. The traveller differentiated between Greeks and Turks and this is obvious in the sketches. The village of Tochni, (illus. no. 62) he noted, is situated on the slopes of two hills and *on one side live the Greeks and on the other the Turks. A small river runs between them, under a bridge of a single arch with a little Greek church built on it dedicated to St. Helena.*<sup>125</sup> The expanse of the area, which appears to be bare of trees, is accentuated by the two figures in the foreground and the development of the hills in the background. Ali Bey faithfully reproduced the houses of Tochni, rather low and ugly with their flat roofs, presumably made of mud-bricks. It is obvious that the Turks live on the left side of the bridge, having two-storied houses, only allowed to the Turkish population and the two figures of Turks are on the left side of the sketch. The Greeks live on the right side of the bridge and the steps leading to the church are on the right side of the bridge. Ali Bey's representations are rather flat and dry, which is in complete contradiction to his text. As an artist he attempted to produce images in an orderly almost scientific manner devoid of romantic interpretation.

At the village of Cythrea, where he went in search of the goddess, he was disappointed; he called it *just a slip of country of irregular shape, with orchards and mulberry trees.*<sup>126</sup> Soon though, he was rewarded by his visit to the Palace of the Queen, above the Monastery of St. Chrysostom, (illus. no. 63) in the Kyrenia mountain range. *When I*

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<sup>125</sup> C.D. Cobham: Excerpta Cypria: Ali Bey's Travels in Africa and Asia, p. 392.

<sup>126</sup> *Ibid* p. 398

*consider the magnificence and the luxury of this palace, a monument of the art of its age, and its remarkable and impregnable position, I recognize the abode of a mighty ruler."*<sup>127</sup> His illustration is taken from the garden of the monastery and includes part of the church which is faithfully represented. The cypress tree and the palm tree figure in an illustration by another traveller/artist, Otto von Richter, who visited the place in 1816. Such trees were often planted in gardens of monasteries especially near walls in order to provide shade and attract nightingales. The ruins of the castle are not very distinguishable, and it seems that it was the landscape that most impressed Ali Bey. He was so taken by the view, the perfection of the place, that in his description of the scene, if not in his drawing of it, Ali Bey romanticised and let his imagination run wild, accepting even the fact that this palace was built by a mere woman, who soon became his heroine, his Venus, and Cythera [sic] and Idalium could not but have been her gardens!:

*Cythera and Idalium are the two nearest places where water could have been found in sufficient quantities to have enabled the powerful mistress of the palace to make use of them for her gardens. Then, if this mistress were..! Yes you guess it reader, a true Venus, or one of the types of the Venus of the poets... If other travellers have visited these ruins, and have given a better founded explanation, do not let me know it, do not destroy my charming illusion of having inhabited during a moment the abode of the Graces, and having entered the loftiest and the most secret recess of the Goddess of Love. Without doubt when she wished to dispense her favours to mortals she descended to receive their incense in Cythera and Idalia; from whence she withdrew to enjoy the company of the gods in her celestial abode above the clouds. Ah Rooke! I am like you, led away by my imagination.* <sup>128</sup>

Paphos gave Ali Bey another taste of his goddess. In Yeroskipou (illus. no. 64) he wanted to visit the gardens of Venus and desperately look into womens' faces for traces

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<sup>127</sup> *Ibid* p. 400

<sup>128</sup> Henry Rooke Esq. was a major in the Hundredth Foot regiment. In 1799 he joined the Russian army before Ancona as a volunteer. He travelled all over the Mediterranean and met with Ali Bey in Cyprus, both in search of classical sites. Rooke died at Omodos village, in the Limassol district of Cyprus on 7<sup>th</sup> July 1814 and was buried at the Greek monastery of the Holy Cross in the centre of the village. This information comes from his epitaph. C.D. Cobham: *Excerpta Cypria*, p. 283



of beauty. Alas! The garden was the home and field of a poor tenant and the women left much to be desired.<sup>129</sup> He collected some flowers and plants from the area, (illus. no. 65) not only for scientific purposes but because they came from the garden of the goddess.<sup>130</sup> He then visited Couclia in Paphos (illus. no. 66) tracing her steps.

The village of Couclia is built on elevated ground, almost a hill, and commands beautiful views of the plain at its feet and all the way to the sea. At the edge of the hill, Ali Bey illustrated the “palace” of Couclia. He was not quite clear as to which part of the ruins at Couclia went back to classical times and which belonged to the medieval period. He was impressed by the thick walls of the palace, which are of the medieval era, but was eager to attribute most of the ruins to his queen. The “palace” must refer to the dilapidated Lusignan mansion of Couclia once the seat of a powerful family that commanded the village as their feudal domain and who were involved in sugar production and trading. It was next to this mansion that the ruins of the temple of Venus lay. There is a flag flying on top of one of the houses, which makes it the dwelling of a high-ranking officer. Ali Bey in fact mentioned that Couclia was the appanage of a Sultana who had a farm in the area. Similar information was given by William Turner<sup>131</sup> a few years later, who wrote that he was hosted in Couclia by a Greek who was managing, on behalf of the Sultan, this and another six villages, altogether constituting his farm.<sup>132</sup>

Ali Bey’s delineation remained simple but clear and precise. His illustration of the church of St. Tychon in Amathus (illus. no. 67) is perhaps one of the first in the 19th century and a valuable document for comparison with earlier illustrations for understanding the rapid deterioration of the antiquities of the island. Being more meticulous than other artists he even drew a plan of the church. The famous vase of

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<sup>129</sup> C.D. Cobham: Excerpta Cypria, p. 405

<sup>130</sup> *Ibid* p. 406

<sup>131</sup> See appendix.

<sup>132</sup> William Turner: Journal of a tour in the Levant, London, 1820

Amathus is also drawn (illus. no. 68) but once again only the intact one, while Ali Bey acknowledges the existence of the second vase which is *nearly destroyed*.<sup>133</sup> The illustration is rather scholarly and directed to the archaeologist rather than the lay reader. In fact when dealing with antiquities Ali Bey became a draughtsman more than a painter, and he made designs rather than illustrations. Having perhaps no claim to artistic merits, a number of the drawings must be seen as an extensive documentation of the antiquities pertaining to the classical world. His illustration of the catacombs of Paphos (illus. no. 69), gives the impression that it was meant for future study. In his text he wrote: *If the island were under a government which encouraged and befriended the arts, it is probable that well-directed excavations would bring to light objects as interesting as those discovered at Herculaneum and Pompeii*.<sup>134</sup> The catacombs are to be found in what is called today the area of the Tombs of the Kings. The old misleading name was given to the area due to the numerous underground tombs carved into the rocks in such an impressive way as to suggest the name Tombs of the Kings. The pediments seen in the illustration do not survive, nor are the walls in such intact condition. The artist's disapproval of the government, of its ignorance and inertia as far as preserving the relics of antiquity was concerned, is expressed in no uncertain terms. There is outright contempt for the uncivilized rulers who have no understanding or respect for the arts.

Ali Bey, being obsessed with his theme of Venus, broke into long discussions concerning the identity of the goddess following the trends of the time for legend-making. His knowledge of Cypriot history and mythology was not profound and his theories led him to wrong conclusions, a phenomenon occurring often in travelogues of the period. In the disappointed state of acknowledging that the reality could not measure up to his vision of the classical world, the artist deemed himself permitted to *re-arrange* the material and to adopt his own theories despite the facts. He was convinced that there were two figures of the goddess in Cyprus during classical times; one that was worshipped in Paphos and one in Buffavento near Cythrea. He had totally misconceived

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<sup>133</sup> C.D. Cobham: Excerpta Cypria, p. 409

<sup>134</sup> *Ibid* p. 410



the facts. The palace of the Queen at Buffavento was never the palace of Venus but that of another famous figure in the history of Cyprus, many centuries later. This would have been verified by the local inhabitants. Cornelius Van Bruyn visited and drew the castle in 1683,<sup>135</sup> and in 1738 Richard Pococke also referred to the story of Buffavento.<sup>136</sup> Both their accounts are correct: the castle contains some Byzantine brickwork, and was used mostly as a watch tower, or as a prison during the Lusignan period. There are many folkloric tales about it, one being that a princess had lived there with her entourage and little dog, to be safe from the raids of the Templars. She contracted leprosy and awaited her death. Her little dog suffered from the disease but bathed in a pool of water some distance from the castle and was cured. The princess did the same and was saved. She believed the water to be holy and built there the monastery. Another popular legend was that it is also believed that it was the abode of a mysterious “queen” who buried her treasure there. As a result, the peasants of the neighbouring villages were dismantling the ruins to find this famous treasure, and in some places destroyed the monument. Later, rumour had it that the queen transported her treasure to Famagusta and the rest of the buildings escaped destruction. But nowhere is there mention of Buffavento as being the abode of Aphrodite.

The artist's illustrations though did not suffer as much as the views were not distorted in order to accommodate his theories. Nevertheless, as much in the case of Ali Bey as in those of most other eighteenth century artists, there is a consistent failure to represent the Turkish element other than by incidental figures, these being of the local people, or to refer to Ottoman rule. There are no representations of Turkish palaces or focusing on Turkish mosques, or even on Turkish dignitaries for one main reason. Such grand buildings did not really exist in Cyprus. The Turks did not build their own civil or religious monuments but transformed the existing Christian ones to their needs. Furthermore, the Turkish element was by far distant from the cultural concept artists had of Cyprus, contradicting their expectations and aspirations as travellers to the classical

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<sup>135</sup> Cornelius Van Bruyn: A Voyage to the Levant, or Travels in the island of Scio, Rhodes, Cyprus etc.. London, 1702

<sup>136</sup> Richard Pococke: A Description of the East, London, 1743-45.

world where Cyprus was identified, in most cases, as an extension of the Grecian classical world. The degenerate state of the people under Ottoman rule was recognised by and outraged the artists who, however, did not incorporate it in their representations as it would endanger and dilute the classical focus of their work. Following perhaps similar thinking, Ali Bey does not portray the Cypriot “descendants” of Venus; the Cypriot women have failed to live up to their role in the artist’s aspirations. Whatever art had previously led him to imagine had been disrupted by the reality, which are understood as being the result of *the depression and stupor of their political position*,<sup>137</sup> for which the Ottoman rule is seen as responsible. Thus, the few figures appearing in the sketches are Turkish women in simple outline, their gender made distinguishable merely by their dress, as in the illustration of the catacombs. The absence of Aphrodite’s daughters is in itself a commentary on the Ottoman presence and the decay it had brought upon the island’s classical and Christian past.

### ***The intelligence officers: William Martin Leake and Henry Light***

By the end of the eighteenth century, the political struggle for supremacy in the Mediterranean was at its peak. Napoleon landed in Alexandria in 1798 in his effort to weaken British power in the Near East and undermine its control in India, thus breaking up the British economic and commercial superiority. Britain was hesitant to respond effectively, not having adequate land forces to strike back, and chose instead to react at sea, leaving the land conflict to be dealt with by the Ottoman troops. To be successful though, the Ottoman army urgently needed training and equipment. It was at this time that the idea of military / intelligence missions was conceived. Groups of distinguished military officers were sent to the Near East, sometimes under the camouflage of scientists, classicists, curious travellers, or openly as militia, their mission being to observe and report on the political and military operations in the area, to train and advise the Ottoman army, and to collect useful information pertaining to the British interests. These were well read and educated men who lost no time in also pursuing their own

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<sup>137</sup> C.D. Cobham: *Excerpta Cypria*, p. 405



interests in these countries. Most of them were keen travellers and amateur writers; disciplined by their profession, they kept diaries of their journeys.

Amongst the first to travel across Europe to the Eastern Mediterranean was a small company of army officers consisting of General Koehler, Major Fletcher, the Archdeacon Carlyle, professor of Arabic at Cambridge and Mr. Pink of the Royal Military Surveyors and Draughtsmen. With them was another army officer and keen geographer, Lieutenant Colonel William Martin Leake. They were well armed, dressed as Tatar Couriers, escorted by servants and Turkish attendants and furnished with all the necessary firmans and letters of introduction that would facilitate their movements. After a long and interesting trip, which not only fulfilled its original purpose but also offered much to the enhancement of knowledge of foreign civilisations, and procured for Britain large quantities of antiquities, manuscripts, and other objects of art, the group arrived in Cyprus on February 10th, 1800, at Tzerina or Kyrenia. From Kyrenia they went to Nicosia and thereon to Larnaca where they met with Sir Sidney Smith. Upon the *Tigre* which was anchored at Larnaca bay, they were informed that a peace treaty between the French and the Grand Vezir was signed and that the French army was about to be evacuated from Egypt. It was a historic moment of victory for the British and it all happened within the waters and in proximity of Cyprus. Part of the group accompanied Sir Sidney Smith to Egypt whereas the rest returned to Kyrenia in order to get a boat for Constantinople.

This itinerary is based on the journal of William Leake.<sup>138</sup> The descriptions given are not very detailed and rather short. The travellers were favoured with good weather; Leake, talking about Nicosia, refers to the fortifications of the town and its 13 bastions and the dry moat. The way to Larnaca was bare and arid, taking 8 hours on horseback. At Larnaca, they saw the British squadron camping outside the town, and had a most unwelcoming reception by the British Consul. An interesting note appears in the entry of March 2nd, where Leake mentions that a detachment of 2200 spahis (Turkish soldiers) which had been sent from Caramania to defend the island in case of an attack

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<sup>138</sup> Hertfordshire Record Office: The journal of Lieut. Col. William Martin Leake, no. 85556

from the French was now being sent back again, and in fact offered Leake and his company temporary use of some of their horses. Cyprus's importance for the Grand Vezir appears enhanced. He is prepared to defend his possession with his own special force. Suddenly, this sleepy and most depopulated Ottoman province<sup>139</sup> acquired, obviously due to its position, substantial interest.

I have not managed to find drawings by any of these travellers. Leake himself drew a map of his journey<sup>140</sup> (illus. no.70) but nowhere does he mention that he sketched views of Cyprus. What he does say though is that he and Dr. Carlyle often copied various ancient inscriptions and depended on General Koehler for drawings.<sup>141</sup> These unfortunately proved to be unavailable.<sup>142</sup>

Another officer, who visited Cyprus some years later was Captain Henry Light of the Royal Artillery. He wrote a book titled *Travels in Egypt, Nubia, Holy Land, Mount Lebanon, and Cyprus, in the year 1814* and published in London 1818. Light was stationed in Malta and before returning back to England he decided to take some time off and visit the Near East. He took with him an English soldier and travelled at his own pace keeping meticulously a journal and drawing sketches on the spot. His narrative is dry and rather uninteresting and if it were not for some deliberate effort to include amusing comments, the travelogue would hardly be enjoyable. But his sketches are diligent representations of the places he visited.

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<sup>139</sup> Robert Walpole: Memoirs relating to European and Asiatic Turkey, Longman, Hurst, Rees, Orme and Brown, London, 1817, p. 20: *Cyprus and Candia are ruled by Pashas; and the former is, perhaps, the most depopulated part of the empire.*

<sup>140</sup> The map along with extracts of Leake's journal were published by the Reverent Robert Walpole in Travels in various countries of the East, being a continuation of Memoirs relating to European and Asiatic Turkey. London, Longman Hurst, 1820, the map facing p. 185.

<sup>141</sup> The Reverent Robert Walpole: Travels in various countries of the East, being a continuation of Memoirs relating to European and Asiatic Turkey, p. 207

<sup>142</sup> A number of these were in the possession of the late Lord Elgin but had recently suffered from floods and could not be viewed.



Light left Beirut on the 23rd September 1814 on a ship bound for Constantinople. Conditions onboard though forced him to get off at the first port where the ship stopped for provisions; it was Larnaca on the 26th of the same month. He took up residence in the house of the British vice-consul and was amazed at the wealth accumulated by all the foreign diplomats, including his host. He commented that the Turks work at customs and the Greeks in trade; he was pleasantly surprised to hear Greek spoken in a corrupt way but with the use of ancient Greek words. (Even today, the Cypriot dialect is said to be the closest to Homeric Greek). Just like Drummond before him, Light noticed the rivalry between the representatives of the European nations and that the British representative was envied the most. The Greeks were oppressed but the dignitaries of the church were protected by the governor, *who obtains contributions easily through their influence*.<sup>143</sup> Apart from perceiving the political situation and intricacies, Light makes a strong *nuance* regarding the role of the Church in the finances of the island.

Light joined a group on an excursion to the convent of St. Thecla and to the convent of the Holy Cross. Three engravings are inserted in the Cyprus chapter of the book. The first is a vignette of the convent of St. Thecla<sup>144</sup> (illus. no. 71). The convent is portrayed small and humble with a pitched roof that forms the center of the picture; behind rises the mountain of the Holy Cross. His view of *Part of Larnica Cyprus* (illus. no. 72) is well drawn and the buildings, even the vegetation, cypress and palm trees in the picture remind one of another picture, that of Cassas. The two-storied houses give the town the appearance of a European city with a sprinkle of Eastern elements. In his last picture, Light offers a beautiful view of the salt lake and the mosque of Scala, in the outskirts of the town. It is titled *View on salt lake at Cyprus* (illus. no. 73). In the background the mountain of the Holy Cross is once more depicted, and at the lakeside which is in front of the mountain, the Tekke of Umm Haram, a mosque built in memory of the aunt of the Prophet who died there falling off her mule. Light simply mentions that the mosque is

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<sup>143</sup> Henry Light: Travels in Egypt, Nubia, Holy Land, Mount Lebanon and Cyprus in the year 1814, Rodwell and Martin, London, 1818, p. 245

<sup>144</sup> *Ibid* chapter vii p. 236. The convent of St. Thecla exists to this day. It lies near the village of Mosphiloti, and was built in 1741; a large well is beneath the church, the water in it considered a remedy for boils.

built in honour of one of Mahomet's relations. The artist was taken by the sunset on the lake, which produced a *bright red colour*. In the middle of the picture is a guide directing two mules one of which is being ridden by a man. The foreground consists of two small slopes of vegetation on either side of the picture which along with the mountain at the rear form a kind of frame for the lake and the mosque. The "frame" is totally European while the center of the picture is undeniably oriental, more so with the clearly distinguishable two tall minarets. There is a disturbing feeling of "infidelity" in this picture. The landscape does not blend well with what it contains. A more desert-like landscape is what one would expect. The salt lake is too big to be taken as an oasis on the one hand and on the other, the landscape is devoid of other buildings or figures which could have placed it in an Oriental context. Perhaps this antithesis within the same spot is what the travellers perceived and were intrigued by on the island in the early nineteenth century.

## **CONCLUSION:**

Eighteenth century Cyprus was visited by travellers/artists who were beyond the role of a mere tourist. They were men of learning, exploring new boundaries of knowledge, or men assigned to special duties. Love of travelling and knowledge must have been the primary prerequisites for the expeditions of these artists/voyagers. Devotion to their duty, diligence and perseverance were necessary. These were reflected in their work. In order to present objective and accurate pictures of what they saw, these artists had to have the inquisitiveness and interest to immerse themselves at least in the topography of the foreign lands they visited, to understand and represent it. This was by no means an easy task. Especially in Cyprus with its complicated history, reflecting a number of historical periods influenced by the cultures of a number of nations. The reception given to them by the local population was not always encouraging; poverty and misery bred distrust, suspicion and xenophobia; foreign had connotations of oppressive. Only the very few Cypriots that attached themselves to the consulates or the officials on the



island were hospitable to the visitors apart from the monasteries, whose role included offering simple accommodation. Otherwise the rural population understood the visitors to be masters from whom they could perhaps at best extract employment for a few pennies.

It is quite apparent from the texts and the illustrations of these visitors/artists that they were fully aware of the political status of the island. They were in an Ottoman province, searching for the *Greekness* of the land and finally being impressed by its *Latinness*. With the exception of Barskii, the travellers portrayed the Cyprus of antiquity and the Cyprus of the Lusignan era. More so the latter. There are various reasons for this: the most impressive monuments were the Lusignan monuments, which became even more appealing when they were accompanied by their legends. In fact in Europe, Cyprus was still remembered for the glory of its Frankish period; and of course it was identified as the birthplace of Aphrodite, the distinct mark from its antique period. Somehow the artists did not search in Cyprus for the exotic. Their preoccupations did not focus on typical scenes of the Orient with camel caravans and interiors of khans or seraglios. There was nothing worthwhile in the field of architecture or art in itself created during the Turkish period to lure the traveller or to make the island renowned. As was the usual custom of the Turks, they adapted the existing monuments to their needs and whatever they had no use for they allowed to decay. This was indeed deliberate as it served their purpose of changing the demography of the land and erasing cultures other than theirs. However, there was a positive aspect to this Ottoman policy. The monuments that were taken over by the Ottomans were primarily the Latin churches and palaces, which by then were deplored by the Greek population. The Latin Church oppressed its Orthodox counterpart so there was no interest by the Greeks in preserving the Latin monuments that reminded them of their religious foe; these would have been left to deteriorate. At least, although changed to a degree, these remained standing while in use by the Ottomans. The only aspect of the Turkish period of Cyprus of any interest was the administration of the island and the condition in which these artists found it. In most cases this was hardly complimentary to the rulers. The hardships they encountered while travelling within the island, the poverty they saw, and the degenerate state of the people

and the land itself are described in their journals and notes. The visitors in most cases distinguished between the Greek and Turkish people of Cyprus. Although they commented without fail on the effects the latter had on the island in all aspects, there is a sense in which they treated this as temporary and they themselves condemned it; as they condemned the ignorance, degeneration and subservience of the Greeks. But they had favourable impressions of the land that they found fertile, with interesting vegetation and great potential, although admitting that the wealth was in the hands of the very few foreigners in the main towns. The Church was viewed as a separate entity; in effect it did have a special status under the Ottoman administration and it did inspire some reverence and respect on a superficial level. It was however obvious, even to the visitors, that the role of the church was not exactly irreproachable.

The artists' perceptions were influenced by their background. Thus, we find the monk Barskii interested in Orthodoxy and it is the Greek churches that he looked for and mostly illustrated. In his text he was sympathetic towards the Greeks and was genuinely concerned about the state of the island. He spoke the language, which facilitated his understanding of the prevailing situation and his journeys on foot afforded him intimate knowledge of the topography. The British travellers, or those who had British patrons, were mostly interested in the classical antiquities of the island and the landscape. Topographical illustrations were fashionable with the Grand Tour and would include monuments of historical reference. These British travelers were of course mostly disappointed by the devastated condition of the ruins, which compared to those of Italy or Greece were hardly worth visiting. Excavations had not yet started, therefore most of the important sites were not obvious and pillaging was widespread to such a degree that whatever was visible was soon removed. Earthquakes had left no impressive monuments of the classical period standing as compared to those admired in Athens, for example the Parthenon or the Theseum. The temple of Venus in Paphos was a pile of fallen columns and Salamis was still covered with earth and rubble. The travellers were left pondering over legends and had to turn their attention to the remnants of other periods on the island's history. Their curiosity was thus accommodated and their troubles rewarded by different aspects.



The British attitude towards the inhabitants left much to be desired: a distance was kept between them that amounted to a relationship between a *civilized master* and a *degenerate subservient* subject. Arrogance, critical comments and patronizing behaviour were customary. In some cases the indigenous population was totally ignored and the traveller concentrated solely on the landscape. The British remained very careful as to their writings in connection with the Ottoman authorities. Delicate diplomacy was exhibited and politics often influenced the contents of books. Drummond afforded himself more liberties by writing his text in the form of letters to his brother. The French on the other hand, as for example Cassas, went for the picturesque illustrations and felt totally at ease with the environment and amongst the monuments around which they could bask in old glories. In Cyprus they could admire their own culture in all its grandeur. The age of Enlightenment and the liberal ideas developing in France made them sympathize with the local people under bondage. The case of Ali Bey was rather unique. Being a Catalan by birth he should have shown more interest in the mediaeval period of Cyprus since the Catalans had strong commercial and political bonds with the island, before and after its fall to the Ottomans. There was a strong community of Catalans in Famagusta since the Lusignan period,<sup>145</sup> there were strong commercial exchanges between Cyprus and Spain,<sup>146</sup> and indeed there was an obvious Catalan influence on the architecture.<sup>147</sup> In spite of this, Ali Bey and for that matter, Jose Moreno, did not seek traces of their own history.

The illustrations of the artists are either in the form of drawings or watercolours. There are no large canvases or even small oil paintings. In many cases their work was concluded later in their own country from sketches made on the spot. Most of their work

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<sup>145</sup> Sir George Hill: *The History of Cyprus*, vol. II, pp. 754-5: ...the Hellenised writer George Bustron refers to the French and Greeks as Cypriots, while he calls the Venetians and the Spanish foreigners contemptuously "Franks." ...The people of Nicosia expressed very clearly, by word and action, their dislike and suspicion of the Catalans.

<sup>146</sup> *Ibid* vol. II, p. 206: Important privileges however were granted by Henry in 1291 to the Pisans and Catalans. These included reduced taxation, reduced import and export duties, special religious and judicial privileges etc.

<sup>147</sup> The famous window remaining from the old Venetian palace of Caterina Cornaro and the doorway giving entrance to the Monastery of Ayia Napa.

was intended for illustrations in future publications and very little done for sheer pleasure. The representations are for the most part very accurate and the little deviations that may occur are in order to accommodate some picturesque elements or to pass on discreetly a message. They are faithful to the landscape and its monuments. The climate of Cyprus is clearly understood with the help of the vegetation portrayed in its various types. The heat is felt through the choice of colours, while the blue expresses the freshness of the sea and the clarity of the sky. The absence of paintings of market scenes, street scenes and interiors, which are plentiful among illustrations of Constantinople, Greece, or Egypt of the same period, attest to the poverty of the island in the eighteenth century. Furthermore, the illustrations of Cyprus during the eighteenth century are very few. Mayer made 164 sketches while in the Eastern Mediterranean, but only three are of Cyprus, which is after all one of the largest islands. Bauer sketched only three topographical views during his visit but made over one hundred and thirty of the Archipelago and Greece. Undeniably though, Cyprus's state could not compete favourably with the wealth of inspirational monuments to be found in the vicinity.

It is interesting to observe that, in the eighteenth century, when Cyprus was undergoing one of the darkest periods of its history and was geographically and politically part of the Ottoman Empire, and had been under Ottoman occupation for well over a century, these travellers/artists came to portray more than ever the European elements of the island. The pictures they presented, in most cases could be representations of Europe and hardly any of them of the Orient. The costumes, the odd palm-tree and minaret in town panoramas were the only give-aways of Cyprus's status. Yet, Cyprus could not have been more 'oriental' than at that period. Perhaps it was the spell of neo-classicism that led the artists to their choice of subject. Perhaps it was the influence of the Grand Tour which made them search for the antique; or their innermost need for the *familiar* which gave them a point of reference with which they felt at ease. Whatever reasons we are willing to accept, the fact remains that these series of pictures present Cyprus, seen by foreign eyes, as a meeting point of two continental cultures, the Greek and the Latin.



## THE EARLY NINETEENTH CENTURY

The nineteenth century found Turkey to be the “sick man of Europe.” There were several efforts to modernise the Empire but it was not until the reign of Sultan Mahmut II (1808-1839) that some changes were put into effect whereby the army went into a process of modernisation on European lines, the power of the conservative religious leaders was weakened and administrative reforms were supported by improved educational facilities. Parallel to Turkey’s reforms, changes were taking place in Egypt where Muhammad Ali destroyed the Mameluk hierarchy and replaced it with his own hereditary pashalik, created the most modern army in the Middle East and took advantage of Napoleon’s cultural and scientific expeditions in Egypt. At the same time the country became increasingly dependent on European investment in order to counterbalance its chronic financial deficit. Almost continuous religious factionalism and tribal strife amongst the rival families in Syria, the religious sects in the Holy Land and the feudal dynasties in Mount Lebanon attracted the attention of the main European powers which remained involved in the politics of the Near Eastern provinces of the Ottoman Empire.

The liberal ideas of the French revolution having swept through Europe reached the Greek inhabited provinces of the Ottoman Empire. By 1821 the Greeks were in revolt against their four hundred year old oppressor and by 1828 they succeeded, with the assistance of Britain, France and Russia, in establishing a small Greek State in the Pelopponese and Sterea Hellas.

Throughout this time the main European powers involved in the Levant and the Middle East, namely Britain, France and Russia, competed for political and economic influence at Constantinople while pursuing their own interests in the outlying provinces of the fast declining Ottoman Empire.

In terms of cultural and scientific discovery, the Middle East was a new world that had

to be explored. As far as British influence was concerned, the Turkey merchants<sup>148</sup> were soon overtaken by missionaries and pilgrims to the Holy Land. English and Scottish historians and enlightened travellers were succeeded by antiquarians/archaeologists, art-dealers, collectors and writers. The daring few who entered the world of Islam in the eighteenth century were surpassed in the nineteenth century by fearless and eccentric travellers who wanted a taste of the Orient. Cook's travels<sup>149</sup> by the middle of the century made the passage to the Orient an unforgettable experience.

The Orient responded accordingly: London and Paris were under its magic! It was the hey-day of Egyptology.<sup>150</sup> Buildings were being erected in the capitals of the Western World with Egyptian influence. Turkish baths and coffee houses were *à la mode* places in London and Paris. The Arts were influenced by Napoleon's campaigns and sphinxes and griffins adorned French furniture and works of art.

Cyprus could not avoid being influenced by the military, political and economic changes affecting the Eastern Mediterranean. For the European travellers however, Constantinople and Cairo remained the main points of attraction; from the 1840's onwards the Holy Land became increasingly popular as a destination for travellers, some of whom stopped on their way at Cyprus.

The population of Cyprus in the early part of the nineteenth century fluctuated between 60,000 and 160,000, depending on the conditions on the island. Drought, epidemics and heavy taxation were still forcing people to emigrate for long periods of time. However, it would be safe to assume from these figures that approximately two thirds were Greeks

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<sup>148</sup> Another name for the merchants and Consular employees of the Levant Company who traded in the Middle East. See: A. C. Wood: A History of the Levant Company, Frank Cass & Co Ltd., 1964  
J. Theodore Bent: The English in The Levant, The English Historical Review, vol. V. October 1890, pp. 654-664

<sup>149</sup> Thomas Cook, a Leicester Baptist had become the major figure in Victorian organised travel. The head office of Thomas Cook and Son, was at Ludgate Circus London and its main market was the Middle East.

<sup>150</sup> See: Dominique Vivant Denon: Voyages dans la Basse et la Haute Egypte, Imprimerie de la République, Paris, 1802.



and one third Turks.<sup>151</sup> The Greek subjects continued to be treated as the *Rayahs*, the God-sent source of income for the Empire in the form of taxes and productive workforce. The Turkish administration continued to show characteristics of material decay and negligent rule, varied by exhibitions of severity. The Greek War for Independence kept the Turks wary of what Cyprus might do and they reacted harshly at any suggestion of support for Greece.<sup>152</sup> In 1830-1839 the island benefited from the reforms introduced by Sultan Mahmut II whereby the farming of taxes was abolished and the various Pashas who administered the island under the Grand Vizier were replaced by the Kaimakams<sup>153</sup> who governed with the assistance of a council in which local representatives of the population were included. These changes and reforms granted by the Porte allowed by the middle of the nineteenth century a certain degree of economic progress in the island. The economy steadily moved into the hands of the local Greek Cypriots and the peasants had the incentive to work harder as farmers and shepherds; trade with Europe and the Middle East<sup>154</sup> was invigorated by strong exports of silk, cotton, salt, madder, beeswax, wines, aromatic oils and carobs.

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<sup>151</sup> William Turner Esq. A traveller and diplomat writes in his Journal of a Tour in the Levant, in 1815 that the population was approximately 60,000-70,000 souls of which 40,000 were Greeks. Spyridon Tricoupis, in History of the Greek Revolution, 1860, notes that the population in Cyprus in 1821 was about 100,000 of whom 20,000 were Turks and the rest Greeks and a few Jews. The Governor in 1841, Talat Effendi, estimated the population to be 108,000-110,000 of whom 75,000-76,000 were Greeks and 32,000-33,000 Turks and some others. Niven Kerr, the British Consul in 1844 estimated 25,000 Turks and 75,000 Greeks and 1000 others, while the Greek Consul between 1856-1860 mentions 165,000 souls of which 120,000 are Greeks and 44,000 Turks. Finally, vice-consul White in 1862 numbers the population at 200,000 of which two thirds are Greek and one third Turks. References of the above can be found in C. D. Cobham: Excerpta Cypria p. 425 and in Sir George Hill: A History of Cyprus, vol. IV pp. 31-34.

<sup>152</sup> In 1804, rumours of shortage of foodstuff and increase of the taxes provoked rioting during the course of which some Turks were killed. The mob turned against not only the Greeks but the Turkish leaders as well. In 1821, while suspecting involvement and support on behalf of the Greek Archbishop in the Greek War of Independence, the Turkish Pasha ordered the public execution of the Greek Archbishop and his Bishops and that of a number of Greek notables confiscating all their property and that of the Church. See Sir George Hill: A History of Cyprus, vol. IV, chapters I-V.

<sup>153</sup> Deputy Governors

<sup>154</sup> Ekaterini Aristidou: Productivity and Commerce in Cyprus in the 18th and 19th centuries, Open University Lectures: Life in Cyprus in the 18th and 19th centuries, published by the Municipality of Nicosia, Nicosia, 1984, pp. 45-62.

The Greek Orthodox Church under varying degrees of liberalisation continued in its role as collector of taxes and general spokesman of the subject people with the Porte; it safeguarded the Greek language by helping in the establishment of schools in the main towns and villages and by promoting education.<sup>155</sup> The first Greek Cypriots travelled abroad to study at the universities of France and England<sup>156</sup> and others travelled for commercial purposes, some creating small Cypriot communities in Smyrna and Marseilles which traded with their homeland. The revival of the Greek language, the relative freedom of movement and the establishment of contacts abroad, helped towards the broadening of their horizons and the Greek Cypriots started making the first hesitant attempts in re-affirming their Greek cultural identity.<sup>157</sup> They always felt culturally linked to Greece, if not true descendants of the Greek nation; they believed their customs and social behaviour traceable to a large extent to ancient Greek culture, which they zealously preserved during the long years of foreign occupation.

The island enjoyed an agricultural status, with most of the Greek population living in the countryside and larger villages, whereas the Turkish population gathered in the main towns of Famagusta, Paphos, and Limassol. Nicosia, the capital, was the seat of the Governor and his administration and of the Greek Orthodox Archbishop. Larnaca continued to host the foreign community of Cyprus. In the nineteenth century this community expanded to include more merchants and missionaries. By 1841 the population of Larnaca had exceeded that of Nicosia by about a thousand citizens<sup>158</sup> and during the governorship of Talat Effendi and Jemal Pasha there was thought of making it the capital of the island at the instigation of the then French consul Doazan.<sup>159</sup> The

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<sup>155</sup> Loizos Philipou: The Church of Cyprus during the Ottoman Rule, Cyprological Library, Nicosia, 1975, pp. 233-253.

<sup>156</sup> Aristides Coudounaris: Biographical Dictionary of Cypriots 1800-1920, Nicosia, 1995

<sup>157</sup> Sir George Hill: A History of Cyprus, pp. 194-199 and p. 233.

<sup>158</sup> Theodore Papadopoulos: Social and Historical Data on Population 1570-1881, Cyprus Research Centre, Nicosia, 1965, p.62: *Larnaca had 13,000 inhabitants of which 9,500 were Greeks, 3,000 were Turks, and 500 Catholics. Nicosia had a total of 12,000 souls of which 8,000 were Turks, 3,700 were Greeks and 300 Maronites.*

<sup>159</sup> Sir George Hill: A History of Cyprus, p. 203



town had a quarantine office, the first established branch of the Imperial Ottoman Bank,<sup>160</sup> and great warehouses for grain and cotton. In 1843 the church of Sainte Maria-Regina Pacis was reconstructed for the Order of the Fathers of Terre-Sainte. The first examples of urban architecture made their appearance as merchants built two-storey houses with Cypro-Gothic arches, “Islamic kiosks”<sup>161</sup> and interior courtyards while most houses had cultivated gardens around them. This was the picture that the newly-arrived saw when they landed at Larnaca.

Continental and British travellers to the Orient in the early nineteenth century usually belonged to the upper and middle classes. They were commercial traders, government bureaucrats, antiquarians, missionaries, clergymen, university dons, pilgrims, writers and artists. They mostly travelled between October and May avoiding thus the intense heat of the summer months in the Mediterranean. The urge for culture, discovery and for experiencing the “exotic,” their search for moral excitement, sometimes even their snobbery, led them forward. The Eastern Mediterranean offered an alternative to the *industrialisation* of their own countries and a chance for spiritual rejuvenation through religion while on pilgrimages to the Holy Land. The weather and the light of the South were regarded as life stimulants, while the laxer class structure and anonymity were seen as a remedy to psychological problems.

The nineteenth century was marked in the intellectual circles of Europe by the flourishing of Orientalism which became increasingly popular following the escalating interest in the Orient, especially in France and Britain. In circles, it dealt with representations inspired by or depicting themes of the Orient. Most of them pertained to scenes of everyday life, bazaars, camel caravans, landscapes with deserts or oasis; all of

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<sup>160</sup> Sir Harry Luke: *Cyprus Under The Turks*, p. 210: *In 1864 the Imperial Ottoman Bank established a branch in Cyprus, this being the first appearance of a bank in the island.*

<sup>161</sup> Hakki M. Atoun: *The Influence of Ottoman Architecture in Cyprus*, Eteria Kypriakon Spoudon, Minutes of the First International Cyprological Congress, April 1969, Nicosia 1973, vol. III, part B, pp. 19-21: *One of the elements that contribute to the old town houses of Cyprus is the projection of a part of the house onto the street. This projection, called cikma or cumba is a significant characteristic of the old Turkish houses seen all over Anatolia...Wide windows were placed all around these cumbas giving them a kiosk character...The glazed projection of the Turkish house has been used until today and is still called kiosk.*

them reflecting the fascination of European travellers with the East, and being part of a sympathetic academic concept which dealt with the discovery and study of the Orient. Such representations exist of the island of Cyprus.

However, Orientalism in another sense<sup>162</sup> is often interpreted as the hegemonic will of the West to exercise power over and dominate the passive East. This is strongly associated with concepts of Imperialism and Colonialism. Certain critics and academics believe that the Orientalist artist could not be immune, by the sheer fact of his Occidentality, to portraying the East *uncivilised* in order to render it more amenable to the interests and transformations of Imperialism. This might be the case with certain artists in Cyprus but later in the century. On the other hand, some of these travellers genuinely set out to discover the world they were losing in their fast developing and industrialised countries. In such cases, a nostalgic feeling is prevalent in their works; colour, light and serenity, views devoid of messages become their major considerations. Such are the works of H. S. Corrodi and Archduke Salvador of Austria that will be examined in this chapter.

A second phenomenon that took place in the nineteenth century was Evangelicalism. Seen as a *religion of the heart*,<sup>163</sup> stressing self-sacrifice and service to others, it involved travel that served as an emancipatory activity especially for Victorian women. This concept served and supported Imperialism in the sense of contributing to its “benevolence” aspect: the civilised Occidental, within the framework of ruling, would introduce civilisation to *the back of beyond*, would establish order and teach the word of God. Evangelicalism did not affect Cyprus much. A few *evangelical* approaches may be found within the journals and writings of the travellers to Cyprus but very little in their illustrations.

With the much larger body of works to be found both in the original and in books in the nineteenth century, one is able to loosely classify the artists/visitors of the early

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<sup>162</sup> Edward Said: Orientalism, Penguin books, London, 1978, pp. 2-110

<sup>163</sup> Billie Melman: Women's Orients, English Women in the Middle East, Macmillan, London, 1995, p. 167



nineteenth century under the following headings: antiquarians/archaeologists/scientists, professional artists, diplomats and missionaries.

### *Antiquarians/Archaeologists or scientists*

A number of antiquarians *cum* archaeologists visited Cyprus in the first part of the nineteenth century in the hope of finding artifacts of special interest. They were searching for tombstones with inscriptions of classical times, manuscripts, or coins. Being the birthplace of Aphrodite, Cyprus sounded promising enough and the books of the eighteenth century travellers whetted the appetite of their readers who came well prepared, having studied the history of the island. Most of them knew exactly where they wanted to go and where to conduct investigations and excavations (on a small scale, of course, due to shortage of time). Some had with them their own draughtsmen; some travelled alone or with the help and guidance of their local consul. Most of these travellers had at some stage visited Greece or Egypt where the remains of antiquity such as the Parthenon or the Pyramids were clearly visible sound edifices; their excursions to Cyprus which yielded nothing similar were a disillusionment. The Gothic monuments still caught their admiration but were no substitute. The illustrations in their books are confined to a few rather repetitive drawings representing mostly one site. This portrayed the famous large earthenware vessel of Amathus; the site was visited by many travellers who followed the footsteps of their eighteenth century predecessors as it was one of the few places where the actual ruins helped the imagination to reconstruct the appearance of the ancient town. Its association with the goddess of love and Adonis and the reputation of her legendary temple attracted everyone to this plateau by the sea. The gap created by the absence of anything else that was romantically or tangibly enough related to the legend was filled by the existence of huge vase<sup>164</sup> of Amathus. It became the focal point which, as we have seen had been the object of Luigi Mayer's and Ali Bey's representations and in fact this could have made it known to later visitors. In 1811, Joseph von Hammer-Purgstall, a professor of Philology from Graz university and a

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<sup>164</sup> Marie-Christine Hellmann: *Les Voyageurs*, Etudes Chypriotes IV, Amathonte I, Editions Recherche sur les Civilisations-Ecole Française d'Athènes, Paris, 1984, pp. 77-100

diplomat, visited Amathus and described the site, believing himself to be the first to have identified the ruins of the St. Tychon church as the sanctuary of Aphrodite. In his book<sup>165</sup> he gives a full description of the vases of Amathus and the church of St. Tychon. His text is accompanied by rough drawings of the layout of the church (illus. no. 74). In 1812 the German artist J. Bergk reproduced Mayer's representations of the vases of Amathus.<sup>166</sup> In 1845 Ludwig Ross, Professor of Philology and Archaeology at the University of Halle, devoted a whole section of his book<sup>167</sup> to his visit to Cyprus and included two engravings of his finds made by his draughtsman Karl Ritter:<sup>168</sup> one of a statuette at Idalion and one of the vase at Amathus (illus. no. 75). His view of the vase is similar to Mayer's, with the same background vegetation, although taken from a slightly different angle, but includes the figure of a local custodian beside the vase, presumably to indicate its scale. In his book he gives a precise description of the vases and their exact measurements, confidently asserting that these are the work of Phoenician craftsmen, basing his opinion on the palmettes with the bulls which reminded him of similar examples in Assyrian art:

*But I entertain no doubt that in the two huge vases we must recognise Phoenician work. Not only was Amathus from the beginning a Phoenician city, and in the earlier times a conspicuous one, but we have no example of similar objects in purely Greek temples. On the other hand as Mueller has recorded, there were vessels of many forms in the Temple at Jerusalem among them the brazen sea borne by twelve oxen. Sidonian craters are mentioned by Homer, who notes the goblet of Nestor, which had four ears or handles on which were depicted golden doves, as bulls here.*<sup>169</sup>

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<sup>165</sup> Joseph von Hammer-Purgstall: Topographische Ansichten gesammelt auf einer Reise in die Levante, Vienna, 1811, p. 129

<sup>166</sup> J. A. Bergk: Ansichten v.d. Türkei...Rhodus, Cypern, etc. Leipzig, 1812

<sup>167</sup> Ludwig Ross: Reisen nach Kos Halikarnassos, Rhodos und der Insel Cypern, Halle, 1852

<sup>168</sup> See appendix.

<sup>169</sup> Ludwig Ross: Reisen nach Kos Halikarnassos, Rhodos und der Insel Cypern, p. 80



The same view is later repeated by the French artist and architect Edmond Duthoit (c.1865), (illus. no. 76) and by the two scientists Unger and Kotchy (c. 1859) (illus. no. 77). All views are more or less the same with differences as regards the angle from which the picture was drawn and the accompanying figures; this site of Amathus is the only archaeological site represented during this period. This is not to say that the visitors did not travel elsewhere in the island. Ross in his book shows what a thorough tour he made of the island but in his own words: *The ruins of the ancient city, to which native savants give erroneously the name Lampousa, ... like Salamis and all other ancient sites in Cyprus is a mere heap of rubbish, for it has been used as a quarry.*<sup>170</sup>

Ross, as most of the other antiquarians, was regarded with suspicion by the villagers who, he claimed, thought of the visitors as *ευρετάδες* (*ευρέται*=*treasure seekers*).<sup>171</sup>

Disillusioned by his archaeological finds, the traveller resorted in making his text more interesting with exotic descriptions:

*The Turkish women who were in no small number on their way to the market or the baths ( it was Friday) made a better show than ever in their long snowy white wraps. They draped themselves in these wraps far more gracefully than the Turkish women in Smyrna, for instance, and more than one, if the veil told true, gave promise of a well-formed body. The peasants too of whom there were many in the market, wear but seldom, so mild is the climate, the heavy woollen or goats hair coat of Greece, but often carry only large square rugs, striped in white blue and red, of coarse woollen stuff, much as do the Arabs, drawing them round the neck and shoulders, as our women use their shawls.*<sup>172</sup>

Further on Ross comments separately on the Greek and Turkish Cypriot peasants, treating them both with the same contemptuous attitude: ...*The other Greek peasants of*

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<sup>170</sup> *Ibid* p. 61

<sup>171</sup> *Ibid* p. 78

<sup>172</sup> *Ibid* p. 23 describing Nicosia

*the island who seldom wander far from their village or to the nearest town, and to whom the proverbial taunt "Cypriot oxen" (βόυς Κύπριος) is still applied....<sup>173</sup>... in shoes down-at-heel, in torn breeches, the sons of Islam, bowlegged from their perpetual sitting and squatting slink and waddle through the ruins...<sup>174</sup>*

Otto Von Richter<sup>175</sup> came to Cyprus on 12th March 1816<sup>176</sup> after a long trip to Egypt. His eyes were saturated with the pyramids and the desert scenes, so upon arrival in Cyprus he was pleasantly surprised. Moving into the town of Famagusta he wrote: *The main road presents a strange sight: as far as the eye can see a lush of green overwhelms ruins abandoned by man; only now and then one can distinguish a building. The light Gothic arches of destroyed churches and monasteries compete with the slim height of the palm trees. Wide fruit-trees and various bushes shadow their foundation walls.*<sup>177</sup> He became even more explicit when he was faced with the first sight of Nicosia:

*From far away it forms a lovely picture. The first thing one notices are the huge walls of the city behind which protrude the houses. They are made in such a way that with the many palm trees they remind you of Egypt. The mixture of cypress trees and the minarets though remind you of Constantinople. On the other hand the Gothic churches remind you of Europe. The two minarets of St. Sophia which is the main mosque, shine over the town and throughout the area.*<sup>178</sup>

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<sup>173</sup> *Ibid* p. 34

<sup>174</sup> *Ibid* p. 38 referring to Famagusta

<sup>175</sup> See Appendix

<sup>176</sup> Recke & Napiesrski, Schriftsteller-und Gelehrten-Lexicon, vol. 3, Neudruck der Originalausgabe von 1831, Berlin 1966 p .543. Deutsch-Baltisches Biographisches Lexicon ,Wien, 1979, p. 631. Sergei Stadnikow, Otto Friedrich von Richter und Aegypten, in Altorientalische Forschungen, 18:2, 1991, pp. 195-203

<sup>177</sup> Otto von Richter: Wallfahrten im Morgenlande, aus seinen Tagebuchern une Briefen dargestellt von J.P.G. Ewers und einem Beitrag von K. Morgenstern, Berlin, 1822, p. 302

<sup>178</sup> Otto von Richter: Wallfahrten im Morgenlande, pp. 313-314



It was not, however, the minarets or the palm trees that he chose to portray. Richter was captivated by the topography of the island as can safely be assumed from his choice of representations and his own comments. In his diaries which are deposited in the Tartu State Historical Archives in Estonia, there are two sketches of Cyprus<sup>179</sup> based on which two engravings were later executed and included in Richter's "Kupfer zu O .F. von Richter Baufahrten im Morgenlande," a folio accompanying his travel book, published by J.P.G. Ewers. The first one is titled *Das St. Chrysostomus Kloster auf Cypern* and the second one is titled *Bufavento ad. Rianeh auf Cypern*. In the diaries the sketches are detailed and this explains their faithful representation as engravings after Richter's death.

The monastery of St. Chrysostomos<sup>180</sup> is drawn from the north, looking southeast (illus. no. 78). It is shown surrounded by a high wall enclosing the churches and an orchard. To the north - east of the church are the arches of the cloisters. The larger dome is that of the church of St. John Chrysostom, the slightly smaller, darker one that of the church of the Holy Trinity. The twin churches date from the Byzantine period (1081 and 1090), having no connection between them save an iron grill. The monastery is said to have been built by a Latin Queen, while the famous Cypriot Saint Neophytos is believed to have entered this monastery as a lay-brother in 1152 A.D. when he was eighteen years old.<sup>181</sup> Rupert Gunnis, in his book *Historic Cyprus*,<sup>182</sup> mentions that the church contained a remarkable marble door frame with decoration of vine leaves and incorporating perhaps the most beautiful door on the island which was made without a single nail being used. Both the door and the frame were copied for use in the new Government House under the British administration in 1933-1937. A small entrance, more like a

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<sup>179</sup> Eesti Ajalooarhiiv F:1388 S:1137 N:1 L:32

<sup>180</sup> The monastery lies about a mile above the village of Koutsoventis on the southern slopes of the Kyrenia mountain range and belongs to the Patriarchate of Jerusalem. It was originally sacked and confiscated by the Turks in 1571 but later on bought by a noble Cypriot who donated it to the Holy Sepulchre. It is also known as the White Monastery and the original building dates to the eleventh century.

<sup>181</sup> Sir David Hunt: Footprints in Cyprus, Trigraph, London, 1982, p. 156

<sup>182</sup> Rupert Gunnis: Historic Cyprus, p. 296

break in the wall may be noted in the foreground of the drawing. It was used by travellers since the main entrance to the monastery which lay on the other side was usually closed. This entrance remained visible and in use till the early twentieth century<sup>183</sup>. The tall cypress tree, in the left hand corner of the drawing, just behind the wall is present in all later pictures and photographs of the monastery. The monastery of St. Chrysostom had been drawn in the eighteenth century by other artists<sup>184</sup> and the similarities are obvious. Richter's picture however, provides the most detailed presentation of the monastery whose restoration at the end of the nineteenth century was to change its appearance completely.<sup>185</sup> What remained and what seemed to attract travellers the most then and through to the middle of the twentieth century, was the serenity of the place and the magnificent views. From the foothills where the monastery lay one had a full view of the Mesaoria plain scattered with humble villages; as it was in March the plain must have been at its best for the wheat would have been tall but not as yet ripe therefore creating a carpet of green. Richter's comments and the clarity of his picture convey these two elements.

His second drawing of Buffavento Castle<sup>186</sup> has in its centre the ruins while emphasis is given to the impregnable heights on which the castle is situated (illus. no. 79). During the Byzantine and Frankish periods it was used as a place of refuge and an observation post commanding land and sea approaches.<sup>187</sup> The castle was built of coarse limestone with no particular effort put into decorative stonework or carvings; what was impressive was the effort that must have been entailed in transporting the limestone blocks up to the peak. Richter mentions having seen this white and yellow stone, found also in Latakia, at the beginning of his trip inland, after having left the plain and while ascending the

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<sup>183</sup> Sir Harry Luke: Cyprus, a Portrait and an Appreciation, Harrap, London, 1957, reprint 1965, p. 129.

<sup>184</sup> Basil Gregorovich Barskii and Ali Bey el Abbassi

<sup>185</sup> Proper restoration was undertaken by the Department of Antiquities, in collaboration with the Dumbarton Oaks Byzantine Institute who rescued part of the ruinous church of St. Chrysostom.

<sup>186</sup> The Castle is situated at about a two hours walk from the monastery, and is otherwise known as the Castle of Koutsoventis, or the Castle of the Lion.

<sup>187</sup> Rupert Gunnis: Historic Cyprus, pp. 296-302



hills. He refers to having noticed quarries: *Often I came across the remnants of old villages and destroyed churches and also the quarries from which they get the materials for building their homes.*<sup>188</sup> Buffavento dates back to the twelfth century. Legend has it that when Richard the Lionheart defeated Isaac Comnenos, the last Byzantine ruler of Cyprus, a noblewoman came to meet the new King and took him to her abode on the peak of the mountain; she had taken refuge there having been persecuted by the Templars. Buffavento is 3,131 feet above the sea and consists of two superimposed groups of buildings, the lower section appearing as barrack-rooms for the garrison and store-rooms while 20-25 meters further up towards the peak there is the main residence of the castle comprising a conglomeration of small square rooms. The staircase that once joined these two sections was destroyed by the Venetians.<sup>189</sup> This dangerous vertical escalade with no footholds beyond some projections in the rocks or the junipers prevented Richter from visiting the top plateau. But the view prompted him to draw this fairytale-like castle and its precipitous position which appears more emphasized in his original drawing than in the engraving. In the latter, the addition of the vegetation in the form of bushes that seem to cover almost everything, tones down the effect of the rocks and the height of the mountain. It mellows the wildness of the spot and presents the castle almost buried in the green. Whereas in the original drawing the ruinous state of the castle and its two levels are clearly conveyed. Bushes are scattered over the ground but these do not subtract from the impact of the precipice which is almost threatening to the approaching visitor. In Richter's own words:

*We kept ascending amongst pine trees sometimes on mules while the final part was climbed only by foot, following various paths till we finally reached the castle where suddenly we saw a fantastic view. The mountain is truly very narrow and steep on both sides. From either side one can see the view. Towards the northeast one enjoys the wide view of the mountainous coast till Carpasso and opposite appear the mountains of the Karamanien in the blue distance. On the other side, towards the South-west the low inclines disappear almost completely, above whom I rode the day before and they melt*

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<sup>188</sup> Otto von Richter: Wallfahrten im Morgenlande, p. 311

<sup>189</sup> Camille Enlart: Gothic Art and the Renaissance in Cyprus, Trigraph, London, 1987, pp. 439-443.

*together with the wide, green plane, which separates the two ranges of the island. The snow-covered heights of Oros Staveros, Olympus and Monte Croche and the sea in the North and South of the island forms the wide horizon. It was well worth the effort! As far as the castle is concerned I must say I was not impressed. 190*

It would appear that Richter did not trust his skills in drawing the view lying before him. However it was the topography of this spot that excited him and prompted him to represent the actual edifice. Despite the fact that Richter left only two sketches of his travels in Cyprus, these provide an interesting contrast in approach although the subjects are geographically near each other. The first, drawn from a vantage point above the monastery gives the buildings an almost domestic quality, nestled in the surrounding greenery enclosed by a low simple wall and with human proportions. Beyond and below is the vast plain, but here are trees, water and refuge. The second inspires the opposite feelings. The artist presents an awe-inspiring fortress, which is viewed from a position of subordination in the face of the unassailable. The precipice does not act as a safe enclosure for the fortress but rather as a barrier against approach. The details of the Crusader fortifications, which as he wrote did not "impress" him, are lost in the general sense of a military stronghold dominating the viewer.

Having travelled extensively and having been confronted with a multicultural experience, Richter chose to keep a dignified distance from it all: *I escaped from the screaming talkativeness of my environment, which blamed me for Turkish taciturnity.*<sup>191</sup> His observations point to the difference in the mannerisms between the Southern and Northern people which Richter at times cannot fully appreciate and one can detect a scornful tone underlining his descriptions:

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<sup>190</sup> Otto von Richter: Wallfahrten im Morgenlande, p. 320. The Carpas is the north east peninsula of Cyprus, from where one can see opposite the range of mountains in the Caramania district of southern Turkey. Oros Staveros is the peak of the Troodos mountain range, while Monte Croche refers to the mountain of the Holy Cross, in Larnaca district.

<sup>191</sup> *Ibid* p. 325



*Most of the other consuls are native Greeks and they are regarded here as cunning and profit-seeking. They should replace the Jews completely, who are since Trajan times not allowed to live in Cyprus. Whoever is used to the proud but calm and fine politeness of the educated Turks, will experience the conversation with the Greeks to be a great burden. When there are two of them they speak together simultaneously and very loudly. The way Mr. and Mrs. Peristiani (the consul) behave to their servants and children to my mind is unacceptable, noisy and without logic. From a small incident falls a cataract of strong words. 192*

In the small town of Kyrenia, the traveller was astounded by the population's backward reaction to an epidemic, whereby, instead of taking all precautionary measures and avoiding crowded places and contact with others, they ran to see the arrival of a Turkish dignitary:

*Ships from Constantinople brought over from Caramania the epidemic of the plague to the little harbour of Cerigna (Kyrenia) in the northern part of the island. Soon it spread over the town of Cerigna and the people there do not react as we would have done; the only reaction to the spreading was no other than the fact that the people run to see Kislar Aga who on his way from Constantinople to Damascus stopped here.<sup>193</sup>*

Richter's reaction to the island can be summarised in his description of the town of Larnaca: *That Larnaca has some interest and looks European is due to the fact that the turban has been substituted by the hat.*<sup>194</sup> There is a reluctant admission that Cyprus is

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<sup>192</sup> *Ibid* p. 307 "Native Greeks" refers to the Greeks mainly from the Ionian Islands who settled in Cyprus in the eighteenth century. See: A. Coudounaris: *Η Κάθοδος των Επτανησίων εις Κύπρον*, (The arrival of the Ionian Greeks to Cyprus), *Cyprus Studies: Second International Cyprological Congress*, 20-22 April 1982, Nicosia, 1987, vol. III, pp. 77-91. Sir George Hill: *A History of Cyprus*, vol. I, pp. 241-3: Towards the end of the reign of Trajan, about 115/6 AD a widespread insurrection of Jews broke out in Cyprus. Led by Artemion, the Jews are said to have perpetrated unspeakable outrages and as a result the city of Salamis was utterly destroyed, the non-Jewish population exterminated and the dead reached 240,000. After this event no Jew was allowed to set foot on Cyprus and even if one landed there by accident or adverse winds, he was put to death. Mr. Peristiani was of Ionian origin and the Russian Consul in Cyprus.

<sup>193</sup> *Ibid* p. 309

<sup>194</sup> *Ibid* p. 309

portraying the first signs of Western civilization, whereas in his sketches, Richter the artist unhesitatingly produced two views that have hardly any Oriental effect.

### *The professional artists*

Six years after Richter's visit to the island, in 1821, Eugene Bottazzi painted a view of Nicosia in oils of predominantly yellow and green colours. He must have visited the island in early spring or autumn for there is long grass on the ground. Nicosia, in the centre of the painting has a serene look about it; it has not yet woken up from its sleep. It must be the morning of a hot day since the sky has a yellow colour, but the vivid green of the vegetation creates an impression of freshness. There is a nostalgic atmosphere in the air, one can almost smell the herbs or touch the morning dew. The town itself is whitewashed, red-roofed, dwarfed by the central building of the cathedral of St. Sophia in the middle, with its two needle-like minarets protruding in the sky. The town appears to have an almost magical quality. I have been unable to trace the exact dates of Bottazzi's arrival to Cyprus and thus determine whether this scene was created before or

after the events of July 1821.<sup>195</sup> Accordingly one could attribute the "serenity" of the picture not only to the early morning hour but also to the numbness created by the tragic events which the artist must have known absent. In the foreground there is a bucolic scene of a young boy attending to a pair of donkeys, and behind him a woman in a red gown holding a basket, probably for gathering wild vegetables or herbs. From the clothing, the boy wearing blue trousers, white shirt and a red cap, the woman no veil and a coloured rather than black, or white gown, (traditionally the colours of the Turkish women), one can be confident in regarding the two as Greek Cypriots. They hardly add life to the picture; instead, what catches the eye is the group of tall palm trees at the entrance of the town which define the Oriental location of the scene. The painting brings

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<sup>195</sup> Sir George Hill: A History of Cyprus, vol. IV, pp. 128-137. The then Governor of Cyprus, Kutchuk Mehmed, suspecting that there were links between the Greek Cypriots and the mainland Greeks who were uprising, ordered the execution of all the leading Christians on the island (about 486), the confiscation of their property and the enslavement of their families. Amongst them was the Archbishop of Cyprus Kyprianos who was hanged on 9th July 1821.



to mind what Mallock once wrote about the spell cast by Cyprus on the traveller: *The men and women he sees are no longer fellow citizens, but figures moving in a magician's crystal*<sup>196</sup> (illus. no. 80). Bottazzi's is one of the first orientalist scenes of Cyprus and as such an exception to the work normally produced.

Another architect and topographer who visited Cyprus in the first part of the nineteenth century was Francis Arundale.<sup>197</sup> Arundale must have come to Cyprus sometime during his nine-year stay in the Middle East (1831-39). During that time he used to spend winters in Rome, so it can be safely assumed that he stopped in Cyprus on his way to or from Italy. One topographical view by Arundale, a watercolour in a private collection in Nicosia (illus. no. 81), is inscribed verso *The Mosque in Famagusta, Cyprus*.<sup>198</sup> Against the backdrop of a cloudy sky, which allows the assumption that this was a winter visit (the figures in the picture are warmly dressed), stands the Gothic Cathedral of St. Nicolas of Famagusta, then a mosque. The West end of the Cathedral is portrayed from a position close enough as to include in the picture the courtyard which contains several humble huts; the one on the right is obviously a coffee shop as idle figures are seen sitting on the covered verandah. On the left of the picture are two Corinthian columns<sup>199</sup> and the domed edifice of the Moslem School.<sup>200</sup> Balancing this to the right are the ruins of the Orthodox Cathedral of St. George of the Greeks, or St. George Elixir<sup>201</sup> with its

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<sup>196</sup> John Pemble: The Mediterranean Passion, Victorians and Edwardians in the South, Oxford University Press, 1988, p. 266

<sup>197</sup> See appendix.

<sup>198</sup> Acquired by the present owner from Sotheby's auction of topographical paintings, 31st January 1989

<sup>199</sup> G. Jeffery: A Description of the Historic Monuments of Cyprus, Nicosia, 1918, reprinted by Zeno Publishers, London, 1983, p. 125: It is believed that the two columns held a marble slab with the insignia of the Republic of Venice, the Lion of St. Mark.

<sup>200</sup> Rupert Gunnis: Historic Cyprus, p. 93

<sup>201</sup> G. Jeffery: A Description of the Historic Monuments of Cyprus, pp. 144-145: Very little remains of this Cathedral, originally built in the 1360 in the European Gothic manner; The Orthodox community of Famagusta was allowed in the early years of the twentieth century to restore part of the ruin and use it as a place of worship. Legend has it that if one wanted one's enemy to be harmed or eliminated, one should take some dust or earth from the floor of the cathedral and sprinkle it at the house of the enemy. But should beware not to cross the walls of the city with traces of such dust on one's hands or else there would be no return to this city.

remaining Gothic arches and the half-ruined steeple. Just in front of the Cathedral under the shade of some trees on the left corner stands a small Turkish cemetery; fragments of stones from ruins are scattered in the foreground and there is the mouth of a well barely distinguishable. Many busy figures are included in the picture.

Arundale came to Cyprus at a time when the island had just survived a series of unfortunate uprisings.<sup>202</sup> Poverty affected not only the countryside but also, as is evident here, the main towns. Famagusta is portrayed as a city of ruin and dryness. The colours of the buildings reflect not only the colour of the local Cypriot limestone but also the feeling of sadness and poverty which is made stronger by the absence of vegetation. Apart from a little green in the inner courtyard of the Cathedral and several palm-trees in the far background of the picture, no other trees are to be seen. The straw-matted roof of the huts in the courtyard itself and the humbleness of the two buildings, one a coffee shop and the other probably a shop, or the keeper's hut, accentuate the degenerate state of the place. Fourteen figures are seen in the picture and twelve of them are Turks. The Greeks had been expelled from the city of Famagusta after it fell to the Turks in 1571 and were not allowed to live within the walled city.<sup>203</sup> The figure riding a horse must be a Turkish dignitary, being led by his servant towards the Cathedral as the Greeks were not allowed to enter Famagusta on horseback. The servant wears white pantaloons, a typical Turkish costume. Behind these two figures are that of a black man who carries a jar or pot on his shoulder and holds a child by the hand. Both wear the same kind of white pantaloons; the black man was probably a slave, one of the many transported to Famagusta from mainland Turkey or Egypt since Cyprus and especially the town of Famagusta was used as a penal colony for prisoners and criminals who had caused major trouble. They had the status of either prisoners or slaves and were either locked up or made to work at hard labour or as servants to dignitaries.<sup>204</sup> The figure

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<sup>202</sup> The first rebellion was in March 1833, led by Nicolaos Theseus. A few months later was a second uprising known as the Revolt of Giaour Imam and almost at the same time a third revolt broke out known as the Rebellion of the Calogeros (monk) in July 1833 in the Carpas area.

<sup>203</sup> Sir George Hill: A History of Cyprus, vol. IV p. 24.

<sup>204</sup> In 1830 Mahmut the II ordered the emancipation of all slaves who had not embraced Islam while in 1846 Abdul Mejid ordered the closing of public slave-markets, but trading went on for many years and the law closed its eyes to it. (Bernard Lewis The Emergence of Modern Turkey, Oxford



climbing the steps of the coffee shop can be identified by the long blue robes and the white turban on his head as a hodja.<sup>205</sup> Five more figures are sitting on the verandah of the coffee shop, all Turks as the Greeks would not be allowed in the company of Turks. Finally, the only two figures that could be presumed to be Greek are the two figures in the left hand corner of the picture, squatting on the ground far apart from the rest. They wear the Greek *fustanella*, that is a wide and much pleated skirt, white shirts and red and blue gilets. Typical is the red headdress, not in the shape of a fez, but more like a cap and with a heavy black tassel. Their costume is very like that of the mainland Greeks and because this was not often used in Cyprus, it must have been borrowed by the artist to emphasise precisely their Greek Cypriot identity. The man is talking intensely to a young boy. Just as in the case of Cassas some years earlier (in his two views of Cozzafani Abbey), the artist is using the group in the foreground (giving the impression of relating a story), in order to make a point regarding the juxtaposition of two nations.

There is a misty look surrounding the monuments in the picture. Arundale tried hard to capture the historical reality of Cyprus and relate it in colour and subtle representation; his training which had imbued him with a great admiration for Gothic art led him to the choice of subject, the famous Cathedral, but he did not stop at that. He did not simply produce an architectural view of the Cathedral drawn from a distance, suggesting to the spectator that there was more the artist wanted to include in his picture. Arundale went further, representing the historical evidence which he must have experienced himself while in Cyprus: the Greeks were the subject race, without voice or power, marginalised and consigned to a corner. The Christian monuments were in decay and turned into Moslem shrines and even as such not looked after. The addition of the minaret to the

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University Press, London, 1967, p. 103.) Consul Niven Kerr mentions 2000 slaves in Cyprus in 1845. Slavery continued in the island well into the late 19th century. The British made a systematic effort to abolish slavery, starting in 1850 with Stratford Canning's circular to all Consular Officers within the jurisdiction of his Embassy to the effect that all slaves in the possession of British subjects in the Levant should be freed immediately, (Sir Harry Luke, *Cyprus under the Turks*, pp. 193-4). Mrs. Etme Scott-Stevenson in *Our Home in Cyprus*, Chapman and Hall, London, 1880, p. 20 mentions many black servants in Turkish families who worked their whole lives in exchange for food and clothing. Today there are survivors of those black slaves in some villages and towns in Cyprus who are Cypriots' descendants.

<sup>205</sup> *Hodja*: Religious title corresponding to a priest. The hodja called the faithful to prayer from the minaret of the mosques.

Cathedral is obvious but it appears damaged. The Turks were the idle masters. The picture was created by the use of mostly one colour, the yellow colour of the stone and the earth and perhaps this is where the success of it lies: the feelings of desolation and degradation which reflect that period in Cyprus emanate from the work. This is a picture that not only presents the social conditions of the island but delicately and carefully accentuates the island's history: Orthodox, Latin and Moslem monuments tell a story of the Christian past and present desolation in a picturesque view loaded with associational meaning.

A similar view of Cyprus exists in the Victoria and Albert Museum.<sup>206</sup> The town of Famagusta is portrayed from a greater distance affording thus more ruins within the picture (illus. no. 82). There are only three wandering figures and an animal. The feeling of degradation and devastation that the artist desired to project is even stronger in this view and more obviously associated with the rulers of the land who are included in the picture in the left hand corner, having replaced the two figures of Greeks of the previous watercolour. The long robes and the white turbans leave no doubt as to their identity. Portrayed gazing idly at the ruins, they appear totally disinterested in the island's past but more in enjoying the evening light. Arundale did not confine himself simply to topographical correctness. He was intrigued by the varied cultures found in this town and the exotic element associated with its Oriental aspects. This amalgamation, in conjunction with the historical references seen within both the watercolours, convey the artist's appreciation of the circumstances in clear terms. It is indeed a more evocative and direct expression of the island's condition than in the works by artists of the eighteenth century such as Mayer and Cassas, reflecting the change in political attitudes towards the rapidly disintegrating Ottoman Empire.

Coming from the same period there are two very detailed pen and ink drawings of Cyprus in the Museum of the City of Athens.<sup>207</sup> They are not signed nor attributed but recorded as dating from 1834. The first is a view of St. Nicolas Cathedral (illus. no. 83)

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<sup>206</sup> Victoria & Albert Museum: The Rodney Searight Collection, SC2: *Ruins at Famagusta, Cyprus, c.1833-1834*

<sup>207</sup> Museum of Lambros Eftaxias, or City of Athens, paintings index no. 995 and no. 996



of tremendous architectural precision, drawn from a left angle giving a view very similar to that of Arundale's. The second view is of a street scene in the town of Larnaca (illus. no. 84) and can be identified as the first completely *Orientalist* picture of Cyprus: camels, palm-trees, a Turkish bathhouse with the typical rounded roof, mudbrick houses. This could be Egypt, or any part of the Arab world.

Antonio Schranz<sup>208</sup> came to Cyprus from Malta in 1837 on one of his tours to the Middle East. He was already an accomplished professional who had his own studio and lithographic workshop in Valetta. Malta, unlike Cyprus, exhibited rapid development in the fine arts from the end of the eighteenth century. The existence of a university in Malta contributed to this; being close to Italy it was influenced by the neo-classical movement and having been a British colony since 1814<sup>209</sup> it acquired a cosmopolitan air that encouraged artistic creativity. The fact that the British fleet was stationed in Malta meant that local as well as visiting painters had the chance to sell their works to naval officers who wanted to take back home souvenirs of their stay in Malta. The naval activities and sea-traffic gave rise to the art of marine painting which represented the British men-of-war stationed in the Maltese harbours.<sup>210</sup> Maltese painters often boarded British ships and went on tours to the Middle East either out of personal interest<sup>211</sup> or as commissioned draughtsmen. The Schranz family of artists<sup>212</sup> was one of the most well-known families in the nineteenth century. The Maltese were great travellers; and as a traveller, Antonio Schranz boarded the English barque *Ariadne* for the Holy Land and came to Cyprus<sup>213</sup> from Jaffa, visiting Larnaca, Nicosia and Kyrenia. He then proceeded

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<sup>208</sup> See appendix.

<sup>209</sup> In 1800 the Maltese rebelled against the French and with the help of the British and some Portuguese defeated the French garrison. Subsequently the Treaty of Paris sanctioned British sovereignty over Malta.

<sup>210</sup> Nicola Cammillieri (1770-1860) was a marine painter who occupied himself with scenes of the harbours.

<sup>211</sup> Amadeo Petziosi, (1816-1882) was famous for his orientalist scenes of Constantinople. See appendix.

<sup>212</sup> Anton Schranz (1769-1839), was the first of the family to move from Minorca to Malta in 1818.

<sup>213</sup> Egon Schneider: Antonio Schranz in The Schranz Artists Exhibition Catalogue, The Friends of the

to Asia Minor.<sup>214</sup> In Cyprus he made at least three pencil drawings all dated August 1837 which portray his fascination with the topography of the island.

He first landed in Larnaca where on August 15th he sketched the town from inland looking towards the sea (illus. no. 85). It is a sketch inscribed *The Scala of Larnaca, Cipro*, the town drawn from a distance that allows a view of the vast landscape, arid and dry, the only vertical line being provided by the minaret of the town. Larnaca appears densely populated, the houses almost on top of each other, while in the harbour a number of ships are anchored. The sketch has a mirage-like quality, giving the impression of the town being far away. Although it is the feast day of the Dormition of the Virgin, the artist was not enticed by the crowds and the festivities to draw scenes of that colourful event.

The *View of Nicosia* (illus. no. 86) reminds one of Richter's description of the city, where the walls of the town dominate the foreground, broken by the passage into the city and the conglomeration of flat-roofed houses beyond. Amongst them the palm and cypress trees compete in height with the minarets and the Gothic monument of St. Sophia. The drawing is busy and detailed, portraying much vegetation (although it is the driest season), the city appearing extensive against the northern mountain range of the island. Having been brought to the foreground of the picture, Nicosia comes through more "welcoming" and tangible than the town of Larnaca.

The most interesting of the three drawings is that of *The Monastery of Eispropharouso*,<sup>215</sup> otherwise known as the Monastery of Bella Pais or Cozzaphani (illus. no. 87). It is an extensive panoramic view of the monastery immersed in the surrounding vegetation. Schranz reveals his artistic abilities in this picture, but it is the topography that captivated the artist. More than the actual edifice, the artist emphasises

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Cathedral Museum, Mdina 1987, p. 41.

<sup>214</sup> Egon Schneider: Antonio Schranz in The Schranz Artists Exhibition Catalogue: Reconstruction of the Voyage of Antonio Schranz in Asia Minor and Palestine, p. 43.

<sup>215</sup> Inscribed on the drawing: *No.55, Monastery of Eispropharouso near the village of Bel Paese Cyrene Cyprus*. Pencil on paper, pasted on cardboard, 35 x 52.7 cm., in a private collection. The word *Eispropharouso* is probably two words: *Eis*, meaning Saint and *Propharouso* which remains a mystery as to its reference.



the panorama of the landscape. The mountains engulf the monastery, the vegetation mellows the landscape and the monument is projected in peaceful isolation.

Many travellers never landed in Cyprus but took pleasure in producing some charming watercolours of the coastline, usually the seashore at Larnaca where their ships must have paused for a while either for re-fuelling or to drop or pick up passengers. There were a number of such visitors, some of whom hold a prominent position in the world of art and architecture.

While realising his dream to visit the Orient, the French painter Antoine Montfort<sup>216</sup> travelled to the Eastern Mediterranean for the first time in 1827 as a professor of art to young marine officers of the French navy on the ship *La Victorieuse*; in May of the same year the ship docked in Larnaca where Montfort<sup>217</sup> drew a watercolour of a church on a mountain (illus. no. 88). It is not possible to identify this building since many small churches by the sea do not exist anymore, unless the location is not by the coast but by the Salt Lake. In such a case it could be the church of St. George the Distant (Makris) then abandoned and in ruins.

Montfort was so taken by the East that ten years later he returned with his friend Lebourg and visited Beirut, Jordan, and Syria (1837-38). Their main interest was ethnographic, so much of Montfort's work comprises drawings of costumes and Eastern figures. Their trip started from Toulon on 4th December 1836; it was on this voyage that Montfort re-visited Cyprus. The two friends had to change ships at Larnaca and Montfort took the opportunity of making two drawings: that of a figure of a Turk and some costume studies verso<sup>218</sup> (illus. no. 89). He was very observant of people and costumes. In his

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<sup>216</sup> See appendix.

<sup>217</sup> Department of Graphic Arts of the Louvre: Aquarelle HO, 16 LO, 281: Chypre, sur une montagne, construction ruinée à coupole (Mai 1827) RF 7537

<sup>218</sup> *Ibid* Plume et aquarelle HO, 248 LO, 16: Turc, les mains derrière le dos. Veste et ceinture rouges, culotte blanche bouffante. Pieds nus dans des sandales rouges. Note: Chypre = il n'y a pas de poche du côté gauche-modèle d'une veste. Verso: fumeur vu de dos-deux études du dos d'une veste-deux études de la partie inférieure d'un homme à pantalon ample. Notes sur les couleurs. RF 7544

diary he noted the nationalities of the passengers: Tcherkesses, men from Baghdad, Venetians, Greeks, Americans, English and French. Also two women, one from Antioch and one from Nicosia.<sup>219</sup> Travelling was on the increase bringing people from as far away as America. The watercolour of a Turk with his hands behind his back provides much detail of the costume. The white pantaloons signify the nationality and so does the headdress. The vest and the wide belt are red to match the red sandals. The skin of the face and legs is dark, tanned from the sun. The posture, bent knees, droopy shoulders, body curving forward, outlines a person at ease, relaxed, almost idle. There is much decoration on the edges of the vest attesting to a degree of wealth. The studies of a costume verso with notes by the artist within the drawing<sup>220</sup> make it clear that the costume is that of a Greek (illus. no. 90). The vest is multicoloured and has hanging flaps over the sleeves of the shirt, very similar to the Greek traditional vest. The pantaloons are of a sky blue colour, worn by Greeks and Greek Cypriots. The legs are covered with high blue socks, and a tassel hangs from the top of the headdress. The decorative trimmings on both the vest and the pantaloons resemble those of the Greek formal dress. The artist was making detailed comparisons between the costumes of Greeks and Turks and this is the first example of a costume study related to the island. Similar studies were made around the same time by other French artists who travelling in North Africa and the Middle East. Montfort's drawing reflects the Orientalists' fascination with the exotic as well as the contemporary interest in Greek ethnography aroused in the West by Greek Independence.

The Reverend Edward Thomas Daniell<sup>221</sup> must have visited Cyprus in 1842 towards the end of his travels that had taken him to Lycia where he had joined the expedition of Sir Charles Fellows<sup>222</sup> in excavating and removing the marbles of Xanthus. Although in March Sir Charles Fellows left with the intent of returning later, part of his group

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<sup>219</sup> Rene Dussaud: Le peintre Montfort en Syrie (1837-38) Syria I, 1920-21, p. 64

<sup>220</sup> Department of Graphic Arts of the Louvre: Plume et aquarelle HO, 248 LO, 16. RF 7544

<sup>221</sup> See appendix.

<sup>222</sup> Sir Charles Fellows, (1799-1860) was a traveller and archaeologist who discovered the ruins of Xanthus and of Tlos in 1838. He published numerous articles on his finds and several books. (DNB)



remained behind, including Lieutenant T.A. Spratt, R.N., the naturalist Professor Edward Forbes and Daniell, to undertake a more extended journey through Lycia. In May the party went to Rhodes to join *HMS Beacon* and there Daniell met Mr. John Purdie, newly-appointed British consul at Adalia. He decided to travel in his company back to Asia Minor and if one can trust the chronological sequence of his drawings, it was then that he painted his only extant watercolour of Cyprus which is now in the British Museum.<sup>223</sup> While in the appendix of F. R. Beecheno's book<sup>224</sup> the watercolour is mentioned as simply *Cyprus*, the British Museum entitles it *Larnaka from the Sea* despite the lack of inscription, title or signature. It is executed on buff-tinted paper, 9.25 x 20.50 inches (illus.. no. 91). Larnaca is presented from a distance from the sea; a small sailing boat is heading towards the coast. Daniell probably never left the ship while anchored in Larnaca. The shore is drawn in minute detail, with all the houses and the minaret distinguishable, while in the far distance one can recognise the loaf-shaped mountain of Stavrovouni, (the mountain of the Holy Cross) and the Troodos mountain range beyond. The land appears dry which is most natural as the time of the visit was presumably summer since he had left Rhodes the end of May and died in September. The shoreline has two focal points, Stavrovouni on the right, standing above the desert-like landscape and on the left and in the foreground the tall minaret rising above the palm trees.

The houses are rather low but vary in size, some accentuated by the use of gouache. The more imposing consular buildings, flags flying, are two-storied, one with an obviously tiled roof (on the far right), and one with a garden wall (middle). The small sailing boat may have been to convey passengers onshore (the water being too shallow for larger vessels) and it is rigged with a sail of the kind used for the dhows on the Nile. What captures the eye most is the contrasting treatment of sea and land. Daniell's artistic abilities remind the spectator of the watercolours of his great friend Turner. The interplay of the blue of the sea with the sand-colour of the land, the latter colour being repeated in a most successful way in the foreground of the picture, accentuates the

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<sup>223</sup> *Larnaka from the Sea* 1872-11-9-62, British Imp. P.6, L.B.1

<sup>224</sup> F. R. Beecheno: E. T. Daniell, a Memoir, Privately Printed, 1889, p. 42

distance on one hand but simultaneously enhances the desire for a closer and more attentive look at the subject. The clouds in the sky and the misty colour the artist has given it, remind the viewer of Turner's skies. Daniell's admiration for Turner was recorded by his friends while at Xanthus:

*Poor Daniell, whose spirit was deeply imbued with the love and appreciation of art - the friend and enthusiastic admirer of Turner - would sit and gaze with intense delight on this gorgeous landscape; and eloquently dilating on its charms, appeal to them as evidences of the truth and nature which he maintained were ever present in the works of the greatest living master, whose merits he thoroughly understood.*<sup>225</sup>

Henry Backhouse<sup>226</sup> paid a short visit to Cyprus in 1842, a memento of his trip being a roundel watercolour of *Cerini -Kyrenia*<sup>227</sup> (illus. no. 92). The view is intriguing because although the mountains belong to the northern mountain range of Cyprus, just behind Kyrenia, the mosque appears above a sharp rocky coastline that does not include the castle. The artist must have positioned himself in a boat far East of the castle and painted his picture from a narrow angle with the castle behind him. Why he chose to omit the most striking edifice of Kyrenia remains a mystery. Unless, just as the anonymous artist who painted Larnaca, he also wanted to project a purely oriental aspect of the city. The area appearing on the coastline is known as *Chrysocava* (golden cave) where ancient quarries were found. Was the painter perhaps recording points for future reference? His watercolour was used years later, in an article by Eliza Clarke published in Cassell's Family Magazine.<sup>228</sup>

During the same year another traveller, a professional artist this time, was in the vicinity of Cyprus: Richard Dadd<sup>229</sup> left England with his patron Sir Thomas Phillips in 1842 for

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<sup>225</sup> *Ibid* p. 23

<sup>226</sup> See appendix.

<sup>227</sup> In a private collection in Nicosia

<sup>228</sup> Cassell's Family Magazine: Eliza Clarke, A Bird's -eye view of Cyprus, December 1878, p. 628



a tour in Italy, Greece and the Middle East. It was David Roberts<sup>230</sup> who recommended Dadd to Sir Thomas Phillips, after having himself been ensnared by the lure of the East, and believing that it would be beneficial to Dadd's unstable mental state. Alas, Roberts was wrong. From the island of Rhodes the travellers boarded a ship for Beirut and it was at that stage of the voyage that they passed by Cyprus and Dadd had a chance to make a quick pencil sketch of Larnaca.<sup>231</sup> The drawing is inscribed *Marina Larnaka Cyprus*<sup>232</sup> (illus. no.93). Dadd was overwhelmed by the East: *At times the excitement of these scenes has been enough to turn the brains of an ordinary weak-minded person like myself, and often I have lain down at night with my imagination so full of wild vagaries that I have really and truly doubted my own sanity. The heat of the day perhaps contributed somewhat to this.*<sup>233</sup> Dadd's insanity started while he was in Egypt and fully manifested itself when he returned to England where he committed patricide claiming to be under indirect orders from the Egyptian god Osiris.

One more coastal view was executed by the eminent Egyptologist and traveller Sir John Gardner Wilkinson.<sup>234</sup> Having spent years in the Middle East, he visited Cyprus on Tuesday, 3 June 1844 on his way from Beirut. Although in his diary he writes that Cyprus is apparently not a pretty island,<sup>235</sup> the word *apparently* attesting to the fact that he did not actually set foot onshore, he took advantage of the day spent in the harbour of Larnaca to make a charming watercolour of the coastline. This is included in a scrapbook in the Wilkinson papers and measures 34 x 12.5 cm<sup>236</sup> (illus. no. 94).

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<sup>229</sup> See appendix.

<sup>230</sup> See appendix.

<sup>231</sup> Victoria and Albert Museum: the Print Room, Richard Dadd D. 138-92, Press mark 131

<sup>232</sup> As far as we know this was never developed into a proper watercolour or an oil painting.

<sup>233</sup> W. P Frith: My Autobiography and Reminiscences, vol. II New York 1888, p. 138

<sup>234</sup> See appendix.

<sup>235</sup> The Bodleian Library: MS. Wilkinson dep. d. 56, fol. 121

<sup>236</sup> *Ibid* MS. Wilkinson, dep. e. 6, folios 20v-21

It is understood that a number of artists found themselves by chance in Cyprus making one or two illustrations of the coastline of Larnaca without actually showing much interest in exploring the island or even disembarking from their ship. While in the waters of Cyprus, this small town attracted their interest as it appeared picturesque; it offered the opportunity of a pleasant view because it included a variety of elements: the mountain range, oriental aspects, European flags, blue sea and dry land.

Strangely, one group that did not visit Cyprus were those artists who went to the Holy Land for its religious connotations. They did not follow Paul and Barnabas<sup>237</sup> to the island. There are no extended views of the church of St. Lazarus<sup>238</sup> nor of St. Paul's Pillar and the neighbouring Paphos church.<sup>239</sup> The only rather remote connections are of the type provided by J.D. Harding<sup>240</sup> who based his engraving of *Kittim, Cyprus*<sup>241</sup> (illus. no. 95), on a drawing by the eighteenth century artist Louis Francois Cassas (illus. no. 31). Other artists such as Holman Hunt<sup>242</sup> and David Wilkie<sup>243</sup> concentrated solely on Palestine. The Cypriot landscape and topography did not conjure up religious inspirations as did the hills of Moab for Holman Hunt's *Scapegoat*.<sup>244</sup> Topographers who made a name for themselves by their engravings such as William H. Bartlett<sup>245</sup> passed

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<sup>237</sup> Barnabas was a Jew from Cyprus. In 46 AD., together with John Mark, he accompanied St. Paul on his first journey to Cyprus where they converted the Roman Pro-Consul Sergius Paulus. Barnabas suffered martyrdom in his native town of Salamis.

<sup>238</sup> According to legend Lazarus came to Cyprus after he was expelled from Bethany and became Bishop of Larnaca. He died in Cyprus and over his tomb, that was discovered in 890 AD., stands the church of St. Lazarus, built by Emperor Leo VI. See Rupert Gunnis Historic Cyprus, p. 108

<sup>239</sup> The church of Chrysopolitissa, also known as the Saranda Colones. Near the West corner of the church is a granite pillar where, according to legend, St. Paul was bound and served thirty-nine lashes by the Roman Pro-Consul.

<sup>240</sup> See appendix. J. D. Harding's drawings were used as engravings in Rev. Thomas Hartwell Horne: Illustrations from the Biblical Landscapes, London, John Murray, 1836, p. x 4

<sup>241</sup> Kittim refers to Kition, the ancient name of the town of Larnaca.

<sup>242</sup> See appendix.

<sup>243</sup> See appendix

<sup>244</sup> At the National Museum and Galleries on Merseyside.

<sup>245</sup> See appendix.



by Cyprus but were content to make some sketches that did not require disembarkation. By this time, the engraver strived to supply his public with as many saleable images as possible which quite often though became repetitive. Bartlett's *Larneca*<sup>246</sup> is drawn from the sea, much like the watercolour by E.T. Daniell, but enlivened by the addition of several boats full of oriental-looking sailors and merchants (illus. no. 96). The style of course of the two pictures differs considerably. The former is enlivened by the colour of eastern fabrics and the inclusion of an architectural composition combined with religious connotations, the mountain of the Holy Cross in the background and the minaret in the picture, which lead to the geographical orientation of the scene; it contains all elements of an attractive, almost exotic representation that was very saleable as a memento, while the latter is more concerned with creating atmospheric power rather than presenting an explicit picture.

### *An inspired diplomat*

During the years 1840-1844, Benjamin Mary,<sup>247</sup> a Belgian diplomat at the Court of King Otto, spent much of his time travelling and sketching in Greece. This was facilitated by the support he gained from King Leopold, who had a special affinity with the country since at one stage he, instead of Otto of Bavaria, had almost become King of Greece.<sup>248</sup> Leopold had never forgotten this incident in his life and encouraged Mary to portray his lost kingdom. Mary travelled to the islands of Cyclades, the Peloponese, Attica as well as to Smyrna, Constantinople, Cyprus, Lebanon and Egypt. From these trips three

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<sup>246</sup> Illustrated in: *Life and Epistles of St. Paul*, by the Rev. W.S. Conybeare MA and Rev. J.S. Hawson MA, Longman Brown, Green and Longman, London, 1853, facing p. 151

<sup>247</sup> See appendix.

<sup>248</sup> Costas Stavrou: *La Grece Nouvelle*, Editions Lucy Bratziotis, Athens 1992, pp. 21-22. Briefly the relevant events are as follows. In January 1830, England, France and Russia nominated Leopold of Saxe-Coburg as the ruler of the new country of Greece. Leopold declined the post by May of the same year on principally three grounds: that there was not sufficient financial assistance, not enough liberties granted to the Greek people and most important, he did not agree with the defining of the boundaries of the Greek state, which he was promised to have been greater. Leopold regretted his abdication and always thought of Greece with great nostalgia as expressed in his letter to Queen Victoria, his niece on October 10th 1841: *I would if I could make a chasse-croise with Otto; he would be the gainer in solids, and I should have sun and an interesting country; I will try to make him understand this, the more so as you do not any longer want me in the West.*

sketchbooks survived: *Greece no. 7, portraits and costumes of Greek ladies*, which contains one hundred and ninety three pencil sketches; *Sketchbook 4*, which contains one hundred and nineteen watercolours of places and portraits from Greece, the Ionian Islands, Constantinople, Asia Minor and Cyprus, and finally, *Sketchbook 6*, which contains exclusively portraits of men, military figures, politicians and clergymen, of Greece, Cyprus Lebanon and Egypt.<sup>249</sup> *Sketchbook 6* includes portraits of three Cypriots.<sup>250</sup> No.105: *George Savas Chypriote Colonel au Service Grec*. No.119: *Le Cadi de Larnaca, Isle de Chypre*; No.120: *Eveque Grec de L'Isle de Chypre*. All sketches are inscribed by the artist, signed, dated, approximately 37 x 29 cm and are executed in watercolours.

No.105 bears the date *8 janvier 1844 à Athènes* (illus. no. 97). Therefore Benjamin Mary had his first encounter with a Cypriot before having visited the island. George Savva was an officer in the Greek army, and is represented in half-length, in full regalia, wearing his uniform and bearing his arms, two pistols and a sword, around his waist. On his head he wears the Greek cap. He must have been of certain means as his gilet is well decorated with heavy embroidery, while the handle of his sword and pistol are also adorned with gems. The portrait is not a great work of art, but then Mary was never an acclaimed artist. The volume of his work should be seen as reflecting his interest in the Hellenic world and his sociological investigations rather than his artistic abilities. His portraits of women and men present faces that look very alike, especially those of the women; but it is the costumes, the headdresses and the decorations that give ethnographic significance to the works. The portrait of Savva affords a pictorial proof of Cypriot participation in the Greek War of Independence and in King Otto's army, a participation regarding which documentary proofs have also survived.<sup>251</sup> Savva was literate since his signature appears on the picture, along with a French inscription by the artist. The former added the word *Cyprus* emphasising his country of origin, of which

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<sup>249</sup> There must have been at least four more sketchbooks of Mary's travels in Greece as can be deduced from the numbering of the works and the time spent in the region but these have not been found yet.

<sup>250</sup> Private property of Mr. Constantin Stavrou, Athens, Greece

<sup>251</sup> In 1866, Greek Vice-consul Menadros compiled a list of the Cypriots who served in the Greek army. The list was published by Kyriazis in *Kypriaka Chronika*, (Cyprus Chronicles) VII, pp. 104-105



he was obviously proud. Why Benjamin Mary asked his sitters to sign their portraits can perhaps be explained by his awareness of his own inadequacy in portraiture; the sitter's signature proved that Mary actually worked *d'apres nature*.

No.119 is the portrait of the *cadi*<sup>252</sup> of Larnaca. It is dated 7th May 1844, and also bears the signature of the sitter in Arabic: *Tuzla Naibi Hafiz Mehmet Efenti*. (illus. no. 98) Tuzla is the Turkish name of the town of Larnaca while the title *Naibi* points to a mistake made by the artist who in fact promoted this man a step higher in the hierarchy.<sup>253</sup> Otherwise, the naib may have been active as the *cadi* in the latter's temporary absence since the administration changed by the year as did the Pashas and most of the officials. The *cadi* is an elderly man, probably in his late sixties, with a white beard, hard wrinkled face, narrow sharp eyes, and a long nose. He is wearing the white turban typical of his status, and blue robes. The mode in which the turban is worn adds height to the bearer. The year of Mary's visit to Cyprus is related to his choice of sitters. He did not choose to portray important merchants or rich Cypriot men or women, as there were few to be found. There were no heroes or their daughters, as Mary found and portrayed in Greece. It appears that the most prominent figures on the island came from the religious sector in both cases, from the Greeks and Turks. The years 1841-1846 were marked in Cyprus by a constant change of Governors so as not to allow time for one Governor to create a reputation for himself and therefore tempt people to seek him out. The post of the *cadi* of a town was usually a point of reference. Even if his term of service was short, the fact that he represented the religious and the judicial power of the town put him on an equal standing to that of the Greek Bishop.

No. 120 was executed on the 10th May 1844 *par nature* (sic) as the artist inscribed, and

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<sup>252</sup>The *cadi* was an appointment by the Porte pertaining to the religious and judicial representation of the Moslems. He was a powerful figure in the town and usually wealthy as it was customary to accept bribes for the settlement of judicial cases. He would "buy" his post from the Port for a number of years with the possibility of being re-appointed.

<sup>253</sup> The hierarchy of the Islamic system was generally as follows: The Sultan appointed two *Cadi Askers*, one of Rumelia, in charge of the European states and one of Anatolia. Below these were the Great Mollas (or Lords) who filled the positions of officers or Chief *Cadis* in the capital, the two Holy Cities, Bursa, Adrianople, Damascus, Cairo, Jerusalem, Smyrna, Aleppo and other centres. Under them were the Lesser Mollas in two grades, the Senior, who were the *Cadi* of Bagdad and Dyar Bekir and the Ordinary *Cadis* and their Naibs or substitutes.

titled *Evêque Grec* (illus. no. 99). It is not signed by the sitter<sup>254</sup> who is portrayed in his black robes and his high hat, with a long white beard which attests to his age. The Bishop is Damaskinos of the See of Kition and must be in his late seventies.<sup>255</sup> He died in 1846. It is only fair to assume that an official of the Belgian government would be welcomed by the Greek dignitaries of the island, and the fact that they sat for a portrait means that there must have been a good rapport between the two parties and a degree of mutual respect. Mary spent some time on the island and proceeded to draw sketches of the town of Larnaca, Famagusta, Kyrenia and more. Two of these, Larnaca and Famagusta are included in the *Sketchbook 4*.

His view of Larnaca bears the number 113 and is inscribed *Larnaca 9th 1844* (illus. no. 100). It is one of the rare pictures portraying the harbour of the town painted from the north looking south. Two tall towers guard the entrance of the harbour where three ships lie at anchor. The towers would have been lighthouses. Much vegetation is present amongst the few houses and a few palm-trees are depicted. But the most interesting element in this work is the inclusion of two mills, which are referred to by another traveller in the eighteenth century, Jose Moreno. These are the typical *moulins* that are scattered all over the Greek islands. They are of conical construction, with a steep roof and have 8 sails; the one closer to the seafront is much larger than the second one beside it. The sketch is very rough, not allowing us to deduce much from the rest of the picture apart from a kind of round ruin [which is half-finished] in the right hand corner. The colours are strong, while the whole picture, although sketchy, is atmospheric.

His second view is of the Cathedral of St. Nicolas at Famagusta (illus. no. 101), but it is inscribed *Cathédrale de St. Sophie Famagusta, Famagusta / Isle de Chypre 1844*, a

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<sup>254</sup> There should be no inference here as to the literacy of the Bishop. He was an educated person who in fact portrayed interest in the education of his flock (Loizos Philipou: *The Church of Cyprus under the Ottoman Rule* Cyprological Library, Nicosia, 1975, p. 249). The absence of the sitter's signature must be attributed to his modesty.

<sup>255</sup> Loizos Philipou: *The Church of Cyprus Under Ottoman Rule*, pp. 144-46. Damaskinos was a beloved figure of the town of Larnaca and became Archbishop in 1824-1827. He was exiled by the Turkish Governor Ali Rouchi and was allowed to return in 1830. Damaskinos was elected bishop by popular demand in 1837, as a reward for the injustice he suffered by the conquerors while defending the rights of his flock.



common mistake as during the Ottoman period when the Cathedral was turned into a mosque it was often erroneously referred to by the Turks as St. Sophia. The sketch once again is rough and unfinished; Mary must have been in a hurry intending to complete it later. The Cathedral is missing the top part of the minaret and is barely given the grandeur it deserves, while on the right hand side of the picture appears an imposing building with an archway which cannot be identified unless due to its proximity to the Cathedral and its situation we infer that it is the building described by various travellers and historians as the open air grammar school:

*To the right of the facade is an arched door and vaulted hall, which now contains a fountain for Moslem ablutions. The former use of this building is uncertain; it was once of two storeys, of which one the lower now remains. It has been suggested that it might have been an open-air grammar school supported by the Bishop. There is a highly decorated doorway on the north side and two circular windows with Venetian coat of arms on shields of white marble above-a chevron between three roses-probably those of the builder.<sup>256</sup>*

If this is the case then the size of the building is exaggerated by the artist. In this small corner of a half-deserted city there is a piazza containing a Latin cathedral, a Moslem school to its left, an Orthodox school to its right and across it a Venetian palace. Mary's work attempts to present at least part of this microcosm of Cyprus, making use of the imposing Gothic building, with a half-destroyed minaret, next to an edifice with domes and arches of the Byzantine tradition, amongst the eastern touch of the palm-trees, the whole painted with the warm watercolour of sepia over ink. This charming watercolour, although unfinished, is a combination of three civilizations and two continents. It seems that the artist was under the same spell as Francis Arundale was ten years before him while in Famagusta. He attempted to convey the idea of a cultural amalgamation but was not as professional artistically as Arundale. Famagusta remained the city that conjured up most associations within the artists' imaginations and as time progressed more was added to the scenes, producing an even wider transculturation.

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<sup>256</sup> Rupert Gunnis: Historic Cyprus, pp. 93-4.

A most peculiar pencil drawing in a private collection in Nicosia, (illus. no. 102) is inscribed *Cyprus* and must have been executed around 1830-1840. A black man in Turkish costume, barefoot but wearing the fez, with accentuated facial characteristics, thick lips and a protruding nose is cutting an Orthodox priest's beard! Seated on his throne, the priest is chubby, with a round belly; he seems to be very short as his feet do not touch the floor and is expressionless. Beside him kneel with somber expressions several Turkish dignitaries who appear to be seriously contemplating the event. Traditionally, the shaving of a priest's beard was regarded the ultimate punishment for a clergyman or the ultimate degradation performed on him by his enemies. This scene does not correspond to anything of the kind. There are no strong emotions expressed in the faces of the people; rather it is as if the priest is having his beard looked after by a barber, in which case the presence of Turkish dignitaries cannot be justified. However, to be able to witness such a scene the artist must have been some sort of dignitary himself. On the left hand side of the drawing are two unrelated studies of figures: an effeminate young man on an astonished looking mule with long pointed ears and a sober looking dignitary with a tall fur hat. It is a puzzling drawing: almost comical in its characterisations, yet possibly attending to Ottoman oppression of the Orthodox church and conveying a sense of parody of both Greeks and Turks from a Westerner's perspective.

### ***The Missionaries***

The much acclaimed religious revival that took place in the nineteenth century seems to have barely touched upon Cyprus, therefore leaving very faint traces. The island had but a very small share in the representations of either the professional artists or the amateur missionaries who visited the Middle East in search of direct routes into the world of the Bible. The reason for this phenomenon is understandable: in Cyprus, monuments of Christianity did not retain their *purity* but had undergone in their plurality forceful transformations by the Ottoman rule which obscured their status; as discussed, Latin Cathedrals bore minarets and were transformed into mosques. The Greek Orthodox



churches and Byzantine chapels that had any artistic merit as regards architecture, frescoes or icons, lay hidden in the mountains and in the remote countryside and were not easily accessible. Cyprus also lacked the glamour that the Holy Land enjoyed as the birthplace of Christ, the most direct association with the Bible. Furthermore, the topography of the two lands differed considerably: the Holy Land was seen as mellow, serene and instructive and offering moral approbation. Cyprus's landscape offered *masculine* interest; with its castles, fortifications and imposing Gothic ruins it was inspirational towards chivalrous imagery, panoramas and coastal profiles. This was not the kind of imagery the missionaries or the religious revivalists were looking for.

Nonetheless, some missionaries did come to the island. The Rev. James Connor<sup>257</sup> arrived in Cyprus on 6th February 1820, and visited the Archbishop in Nicosia to whom he presented two Tracts on the Bible Society printed in Corfu, followed by proposals for the establishment of a Bible Society on the island. Archbishop Cyprianos thanked Connor for the "noble work" and summoned his council to discuss the matter, later informing Connor that he could not approve such a scheme because the island was in such an impoverished state that the Society would never succeed. He did however accept 400 copies of the New Testament in Greek to be promoted in the island. Rev. Connor mentioned that the island *contains 40.000 Greeks, 14.000 Turks, 2 Catholic Convents, 500 Maronites with one monastery. No Jews.*<sup>258</sup> The Greek Orthodox Church, then as now, viewed all other Christian denominations with a suspicious eye and did not encourage their practice on the island. The missionaries were always received politely and politely seen off, the Orthodox Church having full confidence that theirs and theirs alone was the true faith.

However, a few years later, the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions decided to establish a Christian mission in Cyprus. On December 11th, 1834,

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<sup>257</sup> Rev. William Jowett MA fellow of St. John's College Cambridge: Christian Researches in the Mediterranean in furtherance of the objects of the Church Missionary Society, London, 1822, Appendix p. 418: *Visit of the Rev. James Connor in 1819 and 1820 to Candia, Rhodes, Cyprus, and various parts of Syria and Palestine.*

<sup>258</sup> *Ibid.* p. 418

Lorenzo Warriner Pease<sup>259</sup> of the First Presbyterian church of Auburn and his wife arrived at Larnaca for the purpose. Their confidence in success lay in the belief that the local Greek population had not yet recovered from the Turkish atrocities of 1821, was still in a state of ignorance and degradation and was therefore in urgent need of having its Christian morale strengthened and its Christianity purified. This would eventually enable the Greeks to increase the possibilities of converting Moslems to Christianity once the latter no long bore witness to the present lax morality of the locals.<sup>260</sup> Pease did not get far with his project. The local Orthodox priests did not pay much attention to him and the population did not respond to calls for moral purification! They were all too pre-occupied with the difficulties of earning their daily living. Pease was joined in 1836 by two other American missionaries, James Thompson and Daniel Ladd, but the mission eventually closed down in 1842. Pease and his colleagues made long tours of the island gathering information regarding education and religious establishments, studying the population, collecting curiosities and preaching especially to the young ecclesiastics. While on one of these tours, Pease made some rough drawings of architectural and topographical interest, perhaps with the intent to work upon them later. He never did so as he died in Cyprus from typhoid in August 1839 and was buried in Larnaca in the graveyard outside the church of St. Lazarus where his tombstone can still be seen. The drawings which are in his diaries and sketchbooks<sup>261</sup> have hardly any artistic merit but provide evidence to the enthusiasm and diligence which the man felt for his work; he learned the Greek language and seriously attempted to acquaint himself with the country in order to understand the people better and pass on his message. His drawings are linear and executed in pencil, sometimes accompanied by inscriptions on the bottom of the page. They are primitive but full of charm: There is a view of the *Mountain of the Cross from the mission house at Scala* (illus. no. 103), showing a row of humble houses, interspersed every now and then by a tree and with a backdrop of the mountain of the Holy Cross and a faint outline of the monastery. The rectangular

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<sup>259</sup> See appendix.

<sup>260</sup> A. Oliver-Diana Buitron: Report of the Dept. of Antiquities Cyprus, 1988 (part 2): Lorenzo Warriner Pease American Missionary in Cyprus 1834-1839, p. 287

<sup>261</sup> The Burke Library, Union Theological Seminary, New York, U.S.A: Lorenzo Pease diaries and sketchbooks.



openings in the middle of the houses that represent the doors capture the eye and draw the attention to the simplicity of the buildings which appear even smaller and humbler against the height of the mountain. These reflect the unsophisticated nature of the draughtsman who in his diaries comes out as a simple devoted man of God.

On July 7th, 1836, Pease went to Alethricon village in the Larnaca district and from there again sketched the mountain of the Holy Cross (illus. no. 104). The drawing gives a good perspective of the height and the slope of the mountain and a faint outline of the monastery. Topography must have appealed to Pease because he drew yet again the mountain of *Macheras from Scala* (illus. no. 105), this time in a rather smudged form, perhaps because it was being drawn from a considerable distance. The most charming of the sketches is a pen and ink drawing of a priest's house (illus. no. 106). It looks humble and plain but it gives the idea of the architectural structure of the period. The main quarters are on the first floor which is reached by an outdoor staircase, as is usual with Cypriot buildings. There is a covered verandah and a priest is outlined sitting in the shade. The shutters of the windows are in the Turkish fashion and some of them have iron grilles. A figure of a woman is seen bending over on the verandah probably doing some sort of domestic chore.

Finally, Cyprus was no fertile ground for the "evangelical" female of the Victorian era.<sup>262</sup> These women travellers, some educationalists, some academics or missionaries, were involved with the "salvation" of the under-privileged Orient with special focus on the women and children, targeting mainly the Jews. However, there were no Jewish communities in Cyprus, while proselytisation of Moslem Ottoman subjects was forbidden by law upon punishment of death. The Greek Orthodox Church, as discussed above, kept a vigilant eye on the missions and simply took advantage of them whenever it saw fit. Furthermore, the harem, which was the centre of the focus of attention for some evangelical missions dedicated to saving 'fallen' women, did not exist in Cyprus where women enjoyed more freedom under less strict religious laws. Therefore, female

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<sup>262</sup> For details on nineteenth century evangelical women see: Billy Melman: Women's Orients, English Women and the Middle East, 1718-1918, London, Macmillan Press, 1995.

missionaries were limited to a few French sisters of the *St. Joseph de l'Apparition* mission that was established in Larnaca in 1844.<sup>263</sup> Their duties consisted in educating young girls and dispensing medicine to the sick. As a result, there are no examples of those delightful albums of ethnographic or topographic interest produced by women missionaries in the Holy Land.<sup>264</sup> The only woman known to have painted in Cyprus is Lady Jane Digby Ellenborough<sup>265</sup> who came from Damascus to convalesce in the Troodos mountain region and made at least one watercolour of Lania village.<sup>266</sup>

### *A queen remembered*

It was another lady that stole the show in the middle of the nineteenth century. During that period, the political instability in the newly formed Greek State and its internal lawlessness followed by abject poverty, made the country unpopular to the rest of the Continent. A series of murders of British aristocratic travellers by Greek brigands<sup>267</sup> rendered travelling in Greece insecure and the event soon had its effect on European public opinion. Urquhart's journal of travels *The Spirit of the East*, published in London in 1838 sowed the first Turkophile seeds while books like *Le Roi des Montagnes* by Edmond About, published 1857, presented a new and undesirable dimension of the Greek nation. Although the new Greek state lost its attraction for European artists, Hellas remained. The classical concept of Greece was there to be re-used by the artists. The Pre-Raphaelites were the first to express it. Characters and episodes from the Greek mythology and history were recreated on canvases reviving *once again for the spectator*

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<sup>263</sup>Sylvain Béraud: *Données sur la colonie Européenne de Larnaca*, Minutes of the First International Cyprological Congress, Nicosia, 1973, vol. III, pp. 41-42

<sup>264</sup> As for example: Frances Power Cobbe (1822-1908) who made a series of vignettes illustrating her book *Cities of the Past*. Lady Catherine Egerton, baroness Ellesmere (1800-1866) illustrated *Journal of a Tour in the Holy Land 1840*, and Emily Ann Beaufort, Lady Strangford her book *Sepulchres and Syrian Shrines 1862*.

<sup>265</sup> See appendix.

<sup>266</sup> Presently in the ownership of Lord Digby, Mintern Manor, Devon.

<sup>267</sup>Romilly Jenkins: *The Dilessi Murders*, Longmans, London, 1961



*an intimacy with the ancient Greeks.*<sup>268</sup> The theme was carried through by many artists, including Jean Leon Gerome, Sir Edward Poynter and Edward Burne-Jones.<sup>269</sup> Alma Tadema painted *The Women of Amphissa*<sup>270</sup> and *The Pyrrhic Dance*,<sup>271</sup> while George Frederick Watts portrayed *The wife of Pygmalion*.<sup>272</sup> Lord Leighton presented *Greek girls playing at ball*<sup>273</sup> in 1889.

No spirit of Hellas however was to be found in Cyprus. One would have expected that the Greek mythology shared by the two countries, and the classical past which was so interlinked at times, would have enveloped Cyprus as well. Academic and historical painters of the period, who turned to literature and history for their inspiration had a different approach to the island: their interest was focussed on the chapters of its mediaeval history. This followed not only an earlier historicising tradition, but also coincided with the appearance of various extensive historical and archaeological accounts which were published during the second half of the nineteenth century,<sup>274</sup> mainly by Continental writers. History artists though were most inspired by the Venetian period, reviving the chivalrous episodes of gallantry and the intricacies of the Venetian Court in Cyprus. The tragic figure of the last queen of Cyprus, Caterina Cornaro, became a favorite theme. Thus in *Storia Veneta* there is a series of engravings by F. Zanetti and G. Bernascon based on specially commissioned drawings for the book

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<sup>268</sup>Fani-Maria Tsigakou: The Rediscovery of Greece, Thames and Hudson, London, 1981, p. 77

<sup>269</sup>Christopher Wood: The Olympian Dreamers, Constable &Co. Ltd., London, 1983

<sup>270</sup>The Clark Institute, Williamstown, U.S.A. The city of Amphissa was a centre for the cult of Dionysus. In the painting a group of bacchantes are waking up after a night of bacchic revels.

<sup>271</sup>Guildhall Art Galleries. The Pyrrhic Dance was a Spartan war Dance perfumed at the Spartan and Athenian games.

<sup>272</sup>The National Trust, Buscot Park: Pygmalion was a king of Cyprus who fell in love with a statue of Galatea and which was brought to life by Aphrodite.

<sup>273</sup>The Dick Institute, Kilmarnock

<sup>274</sup>M. L. De Mas Latrie: Histoire de l'Isle de Chypre sous le règne des princes de la maison de Lusignan, Imprimerie Nationale, Paris, 1852, 1855, 1861. L'Isle de Chypre; sa situation présente et ses souvenirs du moyen-âge, Firmon-Didot, Paris, 1879. Chroniques d'Amadi et de Strambaldi, Imprimerie Nationale, 1891, 1893.

L.Carrer: Storia di Caterina Cornaro, Firenze, 1855

Vincenzo Padovan: Il Martire di Famagosta, Carme, Venice 1866

by G.L.Gatteri<sup>275</sup> which portray episodes from Caterina Cornaro's life and the fall of Famagusta to the Turks in 1571. Obviously the story of Catarina was a popular theme<sup>276</sup> that could slake the public's thirst for romance, while the story of Antonio Bragadino, the gallant Venetian defender of the town of Famagusta who was barbarously flayed alive by the Turks when he surrendered,<sup>277</sup> captured the excitement and the morbid fascination of the public (illus. nos. 107-112). Engravings were not the only media used to portray the Venetian history of Cyprus. Large canvases and watercolours were also produced with scenes from the life of Caterina Cornaro. Francesco Hayez,<sup>278</sup> commissioned by the nobleman Antonio Frizzoni, painted Caterina Cornaro in 1842. He chose the last moments of Caterina in Cyprus when she was about to leave the island<sup>279</sup> (illus. no. 113). The artist Carl Werner<sup>280</sup> having visited Cyprus during one of his trips to the Middle East (1865-1868) painted *Departure of Catarina Cornaro, Queen of Cyprus from Venice*<sup>281</sup> (illus. no. 114), while another splendid picture of *Caterina Cornaro and her Court*<sup>282</sup> was executed by the German artist Hans Makart<sup>283</sup> (illus. no. 115). In the same historical spectacle idiom is a picture by R. Cresci *The Venetian State Invests Caterina Cornaro with the Sovereignty of Asolo*<sup>284</sup> (illus. no. 116). Pictures such as these, although conceived with episodes from Venice's history, must have contributed to how the history of Cyprus and her native, Christian population were

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<sup>275</sup> G. L. Gatteri: Storia Veneta, Venice, 1854

<sup>276</sup> Caterina Cornaro was adopted daughter of the Republic of Venice, married to the last Lusignan king of Cyprus James the Bastard. Soon after the marriage (1468) and the birth of her son, her husband and child died under suspicious circumstances and Caterina was forced to abdicate and give her kingdom to the Doge of Venice (1489). She and her court were confined to the small municipality of Asolo where she died never having forgotten her beloved island.

<sup>277</sup> Famagusta was the last city to fall to the Turks in 1571.

<sup>278</sup> See appendix.

<sup>279</sup> Bergamo: Carrara Academy, Inv. 1404, oil on canvas, 121x151 cm.

<sup>280</sup> See appendix.

<sup>281</sup> Private collection in Nicosia, Cyprus

<sup>282</sup> Berlin State Museum, and BBC Hulton Picture Library, London

<sup>283</sup> See appendix.

<sup>284</sup> Municipio of Asolo, nineteenth century.



perceived in the mid nineteenth century Europe – not least because the Ottoman conquest, occupation and oppression of Cyprus had parallels with Venice's own recent suppression by Napoleon and subsequent annexation by Austria.

## THE LAST YEARS OF OTTOMAN RULE

By the middle of the nineteenth century France was actively engaged in colonising projects beginning with the invasion of Algeria in 1830, and having expressed her philhellenic sentiments during the Greek War of Independence, no particular care was taken to conceal her anti-Turkish attitudes. On the other hand, Britain was gaining ground with the Porte especially since the support it offered to the Sultan over the crisis with Mohammed Ali.<sup>285</sup> An escalating antagonism between the two nations was apparent in the interest both countries expressed regarding Cyprus. The French interest was exhibited in an increasing number of visitors and scientific missions<sup>286</sup> from the beginning of the nineteenth century till the decade of the 1870's when it became evident that Britain was to gain the island. The increased interest generated by the visitors had little effect on the Ottoman authorities that continued to neglect this province allowing degradation and decay to continue. Many authors and artists understood this derelict state of affairs and translated it into commentary and pictures. Perhaps these sentiments are best expressed by Alphonse de Lamartine who visited Cyprus in August 1832:

*Ce beau royaume pour un Chevalier des Croisades ou pour un compagnon de Bonaparte nourrissait autrefois jusqu' à deux millions d' hommes, il n'y reste que 30.000 Grecs et quelques Turcs. Rien ne serait plus aisé que de s'emparer de cette souveraineté; un aventurier y réussirait sans peine avec une poignée de soldats et quelques piastres; cela en voudrait la peine, s'il y avait chance de la conserver. L' Europe qui a tant besoin de colonies s'oppose à ce qu'on lui en fasse, la jalousie des*

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<sup>285</sup> With the support and guidance of British advisers, the Sultan forced Mohammed Ali to surrender his claims over Syria. In 1831 during the revolt against the Sultan, Mohammed Ali claimed Cyprus and Crete as well. The Porte left these two islands in pawn for England as the price for negotiating peace. Finally Mohammed Ali abandoned his plans for Cyprus and satisfied himself with Crete.

<sup>286</sup> François René Chateaubriand, Ambroise Firmin Didot, Vicomte de Marcellus, F. C. H. L. Pouquerville and above all le Comte de Mas Latrie are but a few savants that visited and devoted books on Cyprus.



*puissance viendrait au secours des Turcs, sèmerait la discorde dans la nouvelle conquête et le conquérant aurait le sort du Roi Théodore. Quel dommage, c' est un beau rêve et huit jours le changeraient en réalité.*<sup>287</sup>*Ne vous faites pas les auxiliaires de la barbarie et de l'Islamisme contre la civilisation, la raison et les religions plus avancées qu'ils oppriment.*<sup>288</sup>

In a sense Lamartine was taking up the role of a prophetic political analyst and not merely that of a romantic poet.

The documents of the French consulate in Larnaca contain detailed descriptions of the state of the island during that period and often indirect or direct suggestions for the need to increase the French influence and strengthen the French presence there. The maritime movements of both Britain and France were carefully recorded and following the decrease in the visits of French ships to Cyprus other methods of preserving the French presence were introduced. The French decided on establishing a benefactory mission in Cyprus. Thus, in December 1844, Don Paul Brunoni of the *Propagande de Lyon* accompanied by four sisters established the First Mission to the Orient. They soon established a school with the financial help of the *Association Lyonnaise de la Propagation de la Foi* from where they not only taught children of the French speaking community on the island but also Greek children who wished to attend. They dispensed medicine and offered medical help and advice through a French doctor. By 1853 they had built their own chapel. Attempts to increase commercial exchanges bore fruit by 1847 when the French Consul inaugurated the regular visits of the Messageries Maritimes line to Cyprus on the route of Alexandria, Beirut, Rhodes and Smyrna, thus making Cyprus a more possible destination for visitors and increasing the export and import trade with France and with French industrial houses in Egypt. By 1860, Larnaca had a French school and a Greek school where pupils were taught the French language.

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<sup>287</sup>Alphonse de Lamartine: Oeuvres complètes de M. Alphonse de Lamartine-Voyage en Orient Souvenirs, Impressions, Pensées et Paysages, pendant un voyage en orient (1832-1833) et Notes d'un voyageur. Librairie Gosselin et Librairie Furne, Paris, 1835, vol. I, p. 177

<sup>288</sup> *Ibid* vol. IV, p.329

A few years later French was taught at the Greek school in Limassol. Hamilton Lang, an interested British observer and head of the first Ottoman Bank branch on the island, wrote:

*There can be no doubt that Napoleon III seriously thought of Cyprus and recognised it as an important observatory over the provinces of Turkey in Asia and Africa. Hence the valuable researches of M. Albert Gaudry, made and published in extenso for the Emperor, and hence the hope prematurely expressed by that distinguished traveller in a communication to the Revues des Deux Mondes many years ago, that Cyprus would soon come under the beneficial influence of French civilisation.*<sup>289</sup>

In their own way the French Consuls were always ready to help the local Greek population strengthening thus the roots and bonds between the two nations, under the spell of the philhellenism that was still lingering over this part of the Mediterranean. The French Consul Doazan (1852-56) suggested to his government a series of precautionary measures to be taken through the diplomatic routes for the protection of the coastal towns of the island against piracy and slavery. A few years later in May 1869 the notables of the French community at Larnaca sent an appeal to Emperor Napoleon III urging him to take possession of the island of Cyprus and to save it from the hands of the Turks.<sup>290</sup> In 1871, after France had signed the Treaty of Versailles and had lost Alsace and Lorraine to Germany, Consul Laffon suggested to his superiors the transport of the French refugee population of the two provinces to Cyprus. He recommended that they could start their lives again in a place differing little from what they were used to and a place fertile and rich enough to offer them a good life. As a result, the French population in Cyprus would increase.<sup>291</sup> But perhaps the greatest efforts exerted by the French in enhancing their influence in Cyprus were through the archaeological and

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<sup>289</sup>Hamilton Lang: Cyprus, MacMillan and Co. London, 1878, p. 192

<sup>290</sup>Andreas Tillyrides: Un très important appel de la Noblesse Française de Chypre à L'Empereur Napoléon III, a reprint from AKSUM-THYATEIRA A Festschrift for Archbishop Methodios of Thyateira and Great Britain, Athens, 1985, pp. 401-406

<sup>291</sup>Kypriaka Chronika: Documents of the French Consulate in Cyprus, I, Larnaca 1934, pp. 302-4



scientific missions organised to the Island, which after all brought Cyprus to the centre of interest of the French population in France and filled the French museums with Cypriot treasures. It is therefore no surprise that during the middle of the nineteenth century many French artists visited the island and projected their view of Cyprus in a novel way that reflected the trends developing in their homeland. The contemporary politics of European influence were the primary motive, but at the same time the earlier Lusignan history of Cyprus could be drawn upon to promote French interests.

### *The discerning visitors*

Albert Gaudry headed one of the most successful scientific missions to Cyprus. He was commissioned in 1853 by the Minister of Agriculture and by the Museum of Natural History, to explore the island and study its geomorphology. Amedee Damour, an attaché of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, accompanied and helped him with the preparation and documentation of the map of the island and executed most of the drawings necessary for the publication that was to follow.<sup>292</sup> Damour's drawings were scientific and topographical often used as vignettes decorating chapter headings or pages amongst the text. He also had it in mind to publish a journal of his trip to Cyprus that would have included his drawings, but this was never realised.<sup>293</sup> Examples of his work were published in the *Monde Illustré* on a double page: eight views of Cyprus including St. Hilarion castle, the Tekke of Um Haram in Larnaka, a view of Larnaka town, Mount Olympus, the port of Paphos, View of Famagusta, view of Nicosia and a rarely illustrated spot of the island, that of Cape Greco (illus. no. 117-124).

The style follows that of his work for Gaudry; he recorded the landscape and placed within it the particular subject of each view in minute detail giving the effect of a

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<sup>292</sup>Albert Gaudry: *Géologie de l'Île de Chypre*, Paris, 1855 (Mémoires de la Société géologique de France, vol. 6 Paris 1859)

<sup>293</sup>Le Monde Illustré: *Chypre, Famagouste* 1878, II, p. 71: *Nous regrettons également de n'avoir pris dans le volumineux album de M. Damour que les quelques vues que nous publions. C'est au volume que prépare, chez "Plon", M. Amédée Damour, sous le titre "Journal d'un voyage dans l'île de Chypre", que nous renvoyons nos lecteurs.*

panorama. The houses are individually distinguishable, monuments are clearly defined and careful attention is given to the physical topography and vegetation. The views are devoid of figures, thus accentuating the topographical effect. They are drawn from a distance in order to emphasise the perspective, especially in the view of Nicosia that is taken most probably from the elevated position of the hills of Ayia Paraskevi (South of the town). To the left of the drawing is a small chapel characterized by its simplicity with some scattered stones around it. Here was one of the old entrances to the city of Nicosia during the Lusignan times and before the Venetians destroyed the original Frankish walls,<sup>294</sup> known as St. Veneranda a French translation of Ayia Paraskevi. A similar view was executed for Gaudry's Géologie de l' île de Chypre, placed above the introduction and titled *Vue de Nicosie, capitale de Chypre, et de la chaîne de Cérines* (illus. no. 125). Only this time the artist was seated at the area known as Margaret Tower<sup>295</sup> today called Ekali.

Damour's picture of St. Hilarion is breathtaking. Taken from a lower point than the castle, it strikes the viewer with its imposing height and precipitous position which is all the more forceful against the empty background; the ruins of the castle are meticulously drawn and made most inviting by an uphill path portrayed in the foreground. Damour's success lies in the fact that he has chosen an effective perspective for each picture: for the mountainous views he drew from a lower point thus accentuating the height. For the town views he drew from an elevated position creating an impression of security afforded by the walls surrounding two of the towns and by means of the meticulously rendered architectural details appealing to the curiosity of the viewer, encouraging him to look closer and discover the particularities of each place. Two pictures, that of the Paphos port and of the Cape Greco are dominated by the two monuments, the Turkish fort of Paphos and the old ruins of an ancient observatory at the tip of the

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<sup>294</sup>Camille Enlart: Gothic Art and the Renaissance in Cyprus, Trigraph, London, 1987, p. 79

<sup>295</sup> *Ibid* p. 388: Margaret Tower was built by Peter I in 1368 but never finished, named after his favourite name. It is believed that Peter had it built with the intention of incarcerating his enemies in that tower but they got to him first. Peter II changed the concept and within the tower built a beautiful church surrounded by an orchard.



Cape.<sup>296</sup> Damour's viewpoint was directly opposite and on a level with both these monuments, presenting them to the viewer in the straightforward manner of a scientific observer, simply as historical edifices.

Another panoramic view of the Troodos mountain range made by Damour and placed at the end of the Gaudry book<sup>297</sup> (illus. no. 126), identifies each mountain peak by name, almost as though by cataloguing the view he is in a sense colonising or appropriating it. Small miniature-style sketches by Damour of remote areas in Cyprus including the *Fontaine D' Amour*, *Platanisso* and *Calebournou* (Carpas area) are scattered throughout the book together with drawings of rock formations and tombs (illus. no. 127). Many of Damour's sketches were used repeatedly by various periodical publications of the nineteenth century in France and are also found in books published during the early years of the British occupation, such as in Hamilton Lang's *Cyprus*.<sup>298</sup> His drawings played a part in familiarising a foreign audience with the appearance of the place, the process of visualisation contributing to a sense of cultural, if not physical or political, possession.

Unger and Kotschy, two prominent scientists from Austria, also published a book on the physical features and natural history of Cyprus.<sup>299</sup> Theodore Kotschy was accompanied on two of his trips to the island, in 1859 and 1862, by the artist Joseph Seebot<sup>300</sup> who produced some interesting drawings of flowers and landscapes. In the frontispiece of the book (illus. no. 128) there is a charming view of Prodromos, the highest situated village on the island. In a landscape dominated by an unfolding series of endless mountain

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<sup>296</sup> George Jeffery: *A description of the historic monuments of Cyprus*, p. 195: *on the neighbouring premonitory which takes its name from Pyla, is an ancient round tower...probably this tower was used as a look-out station protecting the Larnaca roadstead.*

<sup>297</sup> Albert Gaudry: *La géologie de l'île de Chypre*, Paris, 1862, 2e Série, T.VII, PL. XXXVIII: *Panorama de la chaîne des monts Olympes, vu du village de Cato Dicomu à la base des montagnes de Cérines.*

<sup>298</sup> Hamilton Lang: *Cyprus, its history, its present resources and future prospects*, London, Macmillan and Co. 1878, pp. 306, 309.

<sup>299</sup> Dr. F. Unger und Dr. Th. Kotchy: *Die Insel Zypern*, Wilhelm Braumuller, Wien, 1865.

<sup>300</sup> See appendix.

peaks, with no view of the village, lies a small humble church with a tiled, pitched roof. It is the church of Archangel Michael, dating from the fifteenth century. The picture is an apotheosis of the grandeur of nature created by God, whose spirit is felt by the presence of the church. Another view of the village (illus. no. 129) shows the simple thatched houses of the local population clustered together and surrounded by the mountains, as if they are protectively enclosed by nature itself. In sharp contrast, the mountain of Buffavento (illus. no. 130) is portrayed cutting through the sky, strong and impregnable with sharp edges on its sides and the ruins of the castle at its summit. Two small figures are seated on the foothill of the mountain, barely visible. There is spirituality in these scenes, a kind of spirituality that characterizes scientists who marvel at and explain the wonders of nature and remain faithful to an ultimate spirit. Seebot's representations project his admiration for and his humility before nature, something he shared with others in an age when many felt the presence of the divine in the landscape and the elements.

By the middle of the nineteenth century, illustrated magazines in Britain and France were presenting Cyprus all the more frequently. In 1854, a group of Englishmen visited the island and then a series of articles appeared in *The Home Friend*, a weekly magazine of the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge (issues no. 84-88, 1854). Three engravings accompanied the text, probably made after drawings by an amateur artist member of the group. These present the interior of Famagusta Gate in Nicosia (illus. no. 131), the group at a local house in Nicosia (illus. no. 132) and a young girl walking in a garden with the town in the background (illus. no. 133). Apart from being charming and unusual, the illustrations point to another dimension of life in Cyprus that was then developing: these are scenes that give the impression of an affluent society. Famagusta Gate is in perfect condition, appears solid, clean and airy, the people well dressed and relaxed. The house hosting the group is of a grand style with a lavish garden full of trees. It is built of stone with decorations around the windows and a large covered veranda. Rugs are laid out on the floor; climbing plants are entwined around the columns that support the roof. The host is welcoming his guests in an informal manner that suggests that he is used to hosting foreigners. From the right of the picture, one can



distinguish another tall imposing manor. Finally, in the last engraving, the young girl depicted, although hardly dressed as a Cypriot, appears to be walking amongst an oasis of shrubs and flowers, on well-laid pathways. The background is framed by tall cypress trees and in the centre there protrude minarets and tall buildings that give the impression of a large prosperous city lying ahead. The sketches are neither accurate nor characteristic of the state of Nicosia at the time; seen in conjunction with the text though these point to certain conclusions. Two extracts will help build up the picture:

*Here besides the serrai, which is a princely building are three or four of the finest mosques in the island; the residence of the Greek archbishop; the most fashionable public baths; the house of the mollah, the cadi, the mufti, and several of the Greek aristocracy, who are also members of the medglis, or council. Men and women dressed in the finest silks of Syria are thronging the footpaths; Turkish and Greek gentlemen, on finely caparisoned Arab horses, ride past us in all directions; a light phaeton, with four horses and postilions draws up at the serrai door and whilst we are gazing at this novel spectacle and half inclined to think that we are in Europe, the French doctor and his wife canter past, dressed in the very height of the latest fashion.<sup>301</sup>*

*The quarter inhabited by the poorer class of inhabitants at Nicosia is wretched in the extreme: the streets are narrow and filthy; the exhalations pestiferous; and the houses, which are mostly flat roofed and only one storey high, in a deplorably dilapidated condition;....The picture of one of these abodes of abject misery may serve as a truthful representation of the whole; the courtyards are rank with weeds, rubbish, dustheaps and rugs; suspended from ropes which traverse from wall to wall, fluttering in the wind, are undecipherable odds and ends of clothing, patched up till but little of the original matter that constituted the jacket or the sherwal remains; how they ever survive the process of being washed is a perfect marvel. In this small wilderness a meagre-looking cock and a few half-starved hens are anxiously grubbing for worms and a solitary pig roots up weed after weed in search of the wherewithal to satisfy its cravings.<sup>302</sup>*

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<sup>301</sup> The Home Friend: A visit to Cyprus, no. 86, p. 170

<sup>302</sup> *Ibid* no. 87, p. 212

For the first time the Cypriot population is not only separated into masters and subjects but seems to be acquiring a structure of social classes. This does not refer only to the Moslem element of the island. We are told and given a visual aspect of the fact that some Greek Cypriots are now members of the aristocracy. In the text it is mentioned that the house portrayed belongs to a Greek. The town is divided accordingly into the poor and affluent quarters. It is questionable whether the reforms granted by the Porte to the Christian subjects of its territories had such immediate results of economic progress. Some changes did prevail and the population was drifting into a social structure but not to such an obvious degree. These were perhaps exaggerated by an English person coming from the strictly structured society of Victorian England, and whose perception of other societies was affected by his background whereby he sought to find and identify correspondences with what he had experienced in his own homeland. The artist's astonishment and surprise at the cultural confluences represented by the minarets and the phaeton, the manors and baths, is reflected in his illustration of the young girl depicted in the third engraving wearing a fashionable Victorian jacket and Turkish style shoes.

### *The first ethnographers*

French periodicals published similar articles. In *Magazin Pittoresque*, 1847, page 145, there is a wonderful engraving of the sarcophagus of Bellapais Abbey, based on the watercolour by Louis François Cassas. Magazines such as *L'Illustration*, *Le Monde Illustré*, *Le Revue des deux Mondes* and *Tour du Monde*, used sketches by travelling artists as well as by residents of the island who regularly sent articles and illustrations to France to supplement their income. Misleading titles often gave wrong impressions,<sup>303</sup> but on the whole the purpose was achieved: to make the island known to the French

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<sup>303</sup> Paul Augustin Farochon: *Chypre et Levant*, Paris, Firmin-Didot, 1894 Fig. 23, p. 15 and fig. 40, p. 181. The titles of the views of the two towns have been attributed wrongly. The view of Famagusta appears also in *L'Illustration*, vol. LXXII, 3rd August 1878, front cover, as *La ville de Nicosie*.



public, to offer viewers an exotic impression and to keep alive within the French political milieu, through archaeology and other sciences the idea of re-possessing Cyprus. An ardent supporter of this idea was a young Frenchman who lived in Cyprus married to a local girl of French descent. His name was Claude Sosthène Grasset.<sup>304</sup>

Grasset was born in June 1828 at Aurillac. He passed his childhood in Mauriac where his father was Mayor of the town. He studied law in Paris and was introduced to the arts at the studio of the sculptor Elias Robert.<sup>305</sup> Being well off and having inherited a considerable fortune from his father, Grasset made a long tour of Europe and the Mediterranean which led him to the island of Cyprus in 1860 where he decided to remain and make his home. He married Aimee Laffon, daughter of Bernard Laffon a French doctor of medicine in the French army who had retired in Nicosia. Grasset was very interested in the antiquities of the island and saw himself as an intellectual whose duty was to procure the maximum of art treasures for his country. Since Cyprus was then relatively unexplored, Grasset considered it as free ground for the French to indulge in. Often he wrote letters to personalities in France, amongst whom Mme Cornu, the sister of Napoleon III, the French Consuls in the Levant and officials of the French Ministry of Foreign Affairs, urging them to take advantage of the abundance of archaeological wealth to be discovered and acquired. It was in response to his persistence that the Phoenician mission organised by Ernest Renan, under the auspices of the French Government, included Cyprus in its explorations. It was Sosthène Grasset who accompanied twice the famous antiquarian/ orientalist Guillaume Rey in Cyprus when he collected a number of antiquities that he deposited in the Louvre. Grasset felt he was the authority on Cyprus and this prompted him to write a series of articles accompanied by detailed illustrations describing different aspects of the life in Cyprus. Much of his Cyprus work was published years after his departure from the island (probably around 1868) and he continued to write for the journals until his death in 1900.

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<sup>304</sup> See appendix.

<sup>305</sup> Olivier Masson: A propos d'Antiquités Chypriotes entrées au Musée du Louvre de 1863 à 1866, R.D.A.C. Nicosia, 1980

His articles on history and politics lacked accuracy and in-depth knowledge and he would often fill the gaps with his own speculations and theories, but his descriptions of the customs and habits of the people are delightful. In an article in *Le Monde Illustré* he writes about the feast of *Cataclysmos* or the Feast of Venus in Larnaca. He gives a long and confused account of the origins and development of the feast and some colourful descriptions of the traditional customs of the day, children splashing with water all who happen to cross their way on the day when in Cypriot homes it is the custom to be welcomed with lavender water sprinkled on one's forehead.

*Dans la soirée, des barques pavoisées attendent les pèlerins qui sont descendus de toutes les montagnes de l'île; les caïques se bourrent de femmes grecques au corsage brodé d'or, et de musulmanes drapées dans un long voile blanc qui les fait ressembler à des fantômes. Chaque caïque porte à sa proue deux musiciens musulmans, dont l'un joue du hautbois et l'autre de la grosse caisse. J'ignore pourquoi ce privilège est réservé aux musulmans et pourquoi il n'y a toujours que ces deux-instruments. Cependant il est probable que le hautbois représente Venus printanière et la grosse caisse Cypris ou Venus automnale. Les femmes ne dansent point à cette fête; mais musulmans et chrétiens font assaut de cabrioles dans les caïques et dans les cafés. Il est rare, du reste, que le couteau ne mêle pas quelques gouttes de sang au déluge aquatique, et comme les musulmans ont moins l'habitude de boire que les chrétiens, ce sont généralement eux qui ensanglantent la fête.*<sup>306</sup>

The frontispiece of the magazine carries an illustration of the feast of *Cataclysmos* based on a sketch by Grasset (illus. no. 134) who often signed himself M. D'Orcet, that being the surname of the first wife of his father. The illustration corresponds to the description: two Turkish musicians are placed at the front of the boat, the men are dancing, the women are watching some dressed in western clothes and some in the typical white robes of the Moslem tradition. But what Grasset has added to the picture is an air of elegance and *allure* which was certainly not characteristic of a nation under the

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<sup>306</sup> *Monde Illustré*: No. 1112, 20 July 1878, pp. 1 and 38



Ottoman suppression, nor of feasts such as the *Cataclysmos* which can be picturesque, vivacious, noisy, *pêle mêle* but not elegant. Grasset borrows the attributes of the people in the Paris salons to which he is addressing his picture and paints the Cypriots with them in mind. Even clothing and accessories are borrowed from Paris scenes - the women in the boat carry dainty parasols. Furthermore, the background landscape of the picture rings false: the two towers acting as lighthouses at the entrance of the harbour of Larnaca are acceptable but the Grecian edifice just behind them, reminding one of the buildings on the Acropolis of Athens, is certainly imaginary. The artist wanted to accentuate the two elements of the country, the Greek and the Moslem using artistic licence, but his main point was to show how both elements participated in this feast which according to the writer had pagan origins.

In another of his articles, in *L'Illustration*<sup>307</sup> Grasset gives a long and detailed description of the wines of Cyprus, their origins, the methods of their production, the various types of wines, their storing and preservation. He claims that the Cypriots are a nation of drunkards, the women being no exception and that by imposing such heavy taxation the Ottoman administration is the greatest impediment to the export of the Cypriot wines. At the bottom of page 165, the article is accompanied by a wonderful drawing of *Les Vendanges dans L'île de Chypre - aspect d'une Phenecha (établissement viticole Chypriote)* (illus. no. 135). Once again, the ingredients for an informative ethnographic picture are present: the large *pythari* (clay barrel for storage), the woven baskets for transport, the donkey found in abundance in Cyprus, the women dressed in traditional costumes, usually barefoot and carrying the grapes in baskets on their heads. The men are carrying the *cofines* (large deep baskets made out of woven matting), wearing a kerchief hanging from their heads down to their shoulders to prevent the neck from burning under the sun. However, Grasset could not restrain himself from decorating the neck of his main female figure with a necklace! Her posture is upright and proud, hardly possible under the weight of two baskets full of grapes or appropriate to a poor peasant that is sweating under the burning sun for a living. In a corresponding series of sketches concerning the vineyards of Cyprus, two of which were

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<sup>307</sup> *L'Illustration* 1868, pp. 164-5

published in the *Monde Illustré*, Grasset presents the Cypriots in postures hardly related to the working peasant. In the drawing of *Le vin de Chypre-le pressoir* (illus. no.136), the woman is carrying the wine in an amphora-shaped vessel over her shoulder resembling in her posture an ancient Greek statue. In the drawing entitled *Le vin de Chypre-les Cuves* (illus. no. 137), the hat worn by the standing man is foreign to the island. The drawing in the middle of the page, *La danse nuptiale à Salamis* (illus. no. 138), depicts a Greek marriage before a priest, the musicians with the Greek instruments of the layout and the violin and a man in the Greek costume which was worn in Cyprus only on formal occasions. The women, however, are dancing in an oriental manner, which although accentuating their femininity is unrelated to the typical Greek-Cypriot dances. In Cypriot dancing the female body does not curve much, it is rather the step and the motion of the hands that play the predominant role. These women are gypsies who frequented all feasts and danced to the trickle of pennies.<sup>308</sup> Gypsies existed in Cyprus in the nineteenth century; they came to the island from the neighbouring countries for work, especially in summer to harvest the grapes. Grasset chose to portray a Greek wedding and placed it in Salamis, undoubtedly a town that points to the Greekness of the island. Yet, this scene and those of gathering the grapes and making wine, are infused with idealised and almost arcadian overtones which give a somewhat sanitised, pastoral flavour to their subjects, in order to appeal to the French audience.

Artists such as Paul Durand,<sup>309</sup> Jean Seignemartin,<sup>310</sup> Leon Bonnat,<sup>311</sup> amongst others, sketched Cyprus more or less in the style of Grasset contributing thus to the ethnological representation of the island. *Le Tour du Monde* of April and October 1879 in a long article by Emile Descamps published many of their sketches of everyday Cypriot life, executed years earlier. Grasset's reputation was in no danger of being

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<sup>308</sup> Costas P. Kyrris: *Οι ατσίγγανοι εν Κύπρω* (The gypsies in Cyprus), reprint from the periodical *Η Μόρφωσις*, 1969, vol. KE, Nicosia, Cyprus, 1969.

<sup>309</sup> See appendix.

<sup>310</sup> See appendix.

<sup>311</sup> See appendix.



overwhelmed by these artists. His main antagonist though, against whom he held a grudge all his life, was Edmond Duthoit.

Edmond Duthoit<sup>312</sup> was one of the members of the Phoenician mission organised by the French Government in 1862. Ernest Renan, who was supposed to be heading the mission, could not participate himself due to the sudden death of his sister. He chose instead three able men to replace him: Melchior de Vogüé (1829-1916), William Waddington (1826-1894) and at the recommendation of Count Viollet-le- Duc, Edmond Duthoit, an architect and draughtsman. They were supposed to collect information and antiquities for the French Government, in particular inscriptions, and take possession of the famous crater of Amathus.

Edmond Duthoit was born in Amiens in 1837. His family enjoyed great reputation in artistic circles: his father Aime was a decorator and his uncle Louis a sculptor. Edmond studied at the Jesuit College of Brugelette in Belgium, at Saint Clément in Metz and in Amiens as a designer, especially of religious buildings. In 1857 he joined the studio of Viollet-le-Duc and became one of his most promising students of architecture. Under Viollet-le Duc's supervision he decorated theatres, museums and designed churches in the Gothic and Neo-Byzantine styles. He was prompted by his patron to participate in the Phoenician mission (1862) where he could study the influences of the Orient on Western architecture and vice-versa. Duthoit visited Cyprus twice, returning for the second time in 1865 without his companions, to conclude the mission.

A number of sketches, made by Duthoit during his visit to Cyprus and the Middle East, are in the Museum of Picardie in Amiens, while his correspondence with his mother from the island of Cyprus was published in *Cahier 4* of the *Centre des Etudes Chypriotes* by Jacques Foucart-Borville.<sup>313</sup> A most complete picture of the island in the decade of 1860-70 may be deduced from the above mentioned sources, extracting a wealth of

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<sup>312</sup> See appendix.

<sup>313</sup> Jacques Foucart-Borville: La Correspondance Chypriote d' Edmond Duthoit, Centre des Etudes Chypriotes, Cahier 4, 1985, pp. 3-59.

information not only about the antiquities and monuments but also about the social aspects of the country.

Duthoit drew for his mission the architectural aspects of the monuments of Cyprus whose core were the Gothic edifices, which attracted the greatest interest among the French public. Furthermore, he illustrated the Byzantine churches starting from the well-known churches of Kykko and St. Mamas and proceeding to the small obscure chapels in the Mesaoria plane. While supervising the excavations performed by the mission he never stopped sketching, thereby accumulating a large collection of representations of tombs, sites and archaeological remnants most of which have long disappeared. He is most celebrated for his thorough study of the colossal vase of Amathus for the transport of which to France he procured a firman from the Sultan, to the dismay of the British Consul who was also eyeing the piece. Duthoit studied and prepared the way it should be transported to the beach from the top of the hill and on to a French frigate and went as far as building a wall around it so as to protect it until the time of its transfer (illus. no. 139).

The professionalism of the artist is reflected in the austerity of his architectural illustrations, the particular care he took over getting their dimensions correct and the inclusion of figures for the indication of scale. Attention is given to the perspective from which the edifice was drawn so as to have it presented to the best advantage for understanding its structure. Often, on the same piece of paper, the monument was presented from different angles; detailed drawings of special antique fragments (such as decor of gables, doorways, windows, columns and capitals) give measurements and some have explanatory notes (illus. no. 140-142).

Apart from being interested in topography, Duthoit is best at his ethnographical scenes: street scenes constitute a live perspective on the various neighbourhoods of the towns; costumes worn by Greeks and Turks in characteristic activities, illustrate aspects of life described in his text. Women at work testify to the hard lot of the Cypriot female



peasantry, (illus. no. 143) while scenes of feasts at the Kykko and Chrysoroyatissa<sup>314</sup> churches indicate the customs and manners of the time and place.

His illustrations of the towns, especially of Nicosia and Famagusta, are an amalgamation of the East and West, as often described by previous travellers. The picturesque compositions of his street scenes could have come from the cities of France but the palm trees, the inclusion every now and then of a minaret, the costumes worn by his figures, and the primitive houses create the oriental touch. Sometimes scenes which from their titles would seem to be purely Oriental, such as *Un cimetière Turc à Nicosie*, '62 (illus. no. 144), are not always so straightforward: the addition of a Gothic monument on the left of the picture introduces another reference. *Sérail à Nicosia 1862* (illus. no. 145) shows a Turkish figure dressed in the long veil walking up to the palace of the Turkish Governor which, although surrounded by palm trees, being an old Venetian palace bears on top of its doorway the emblem of St. Mark. In other scenes, where the artist restricted himself to the presentation of a street with humble houses and a minaret in the background and with figures in Ottoman attire, a purely oriental atmosphere is achieved (illus. no. 146).

Views of the town of Famagusta from the sea (illus. no. 147-148) give a completely different dimension of the island: the fortified town, with the Sea Gate bastion in the middle of the picture can only take one's imagination back to the Venetians and the Crusaders. The Christian Orthodox element is also given its due importance within Duthoit's illustrations. Views of villages dominated by Byzantine churches and scenes within the courtyards of monasteries, sunk in the vegetation of secluded areas in the mountainous regions of Cyprus, offer an atmosphere of security and reverence well captured by the artist, who understood the historical connotations of the landscape (illus. no. 149-151): the mountains were a refuge for the Orthodox Church since the time of the Latin rule in Cyprus. The cultural variety to be found within the sketches points to the artist's love for juxtaposition and incongruity whereby the Islamic, the Byzantine, the French and the Venetian elements often appear side by side. Illustrations of the

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<sup>314</sup> The Monastery of Chrysoroyiatissa lies about a mile away from the village of Pano Panayia and a few miles away from the monastery of Kykko in the mountains of Troodos in the Paphos district.

antiquities of the island such as *Palaipaphos* (illus. no. 152) otherwise known as the Tomb of Venus or *Soli*, (illus. no. 153) portraying scattered Greek columns, refer to and emphasise the Hellenic aspect of the country.

A number of drawings present local artefacts such as clay water-pitchers and watermills of primitive construction with the old style wooden wheel (illus. no. 154-155). Drawings of interiors of houses devoid of decorative items and restricted to bare essentials draw the attention to the structural elements and the architectural features of the houses (illus. no. 146). A series of sketches of animals, oxen, cows and donkeys, skinny and overworked and of people seated or standing in simple working clothes, of women mostly barefoot surrounded by children (illus. no. 157-158), testify to the economy and social conditions on the island. Copies of Byzantine frescoes, sometimes seemingly appear unfinished or possibly destroyed, as well as drawings of rotting Venetian cannons, or the famous candelabra discarded in the castle of Famagusta (illus. no. 159-161), evoke a romantic but melancholy sense of history and neglect.

In other drawings, Duthoit gives a different view of the variety of Cypriot life, for example in his scenes of the feasts. Poor as they may be, the peasants of Cyprus celebrated their Saints's day with *paniyiri*<sup>315</sup> and dancing: women in a circle are spinning round obviously to the tunes of music, while others are resting. In the courtyard of the monastery the peddlers have gathered to sell their goods and the animals are lined up either for sale or, being the only means of transport, to rest after having reached their destination (illus. no. 162-163). The scene is busy with people talking in group. The *paniyiri* of the Virgin of Chrysoroiatissa (inscribed by Duthoit in Greek), is one of the main feasts celebrated on the island (15th August) and people gather from all parts of the island to pay their respects to the Virgin Mary to whom the Monastery is dedicated.

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<sup>315</sup> *Paniyiri* is the Greek word for a fair in celebration of a saint's name day. It usually lasts three days where by there is an open-air sale of goods brought from all over the island including fruit, animals and local artefacts.



The costumes of the country can be appreciated in most of Duthoit's drawings, but the artist devoted some special sketches to this theme. A young woman carrying a water-pitcher and having under her arm a wide woven platter of traditional Cypriot make, is dressed in the costume of the Carpas area (illus. no. 164). Different parts of the island adhered to variations of the Cypriot costume. Thus in the Carpas peninsula the women wore a full skirt over baggy trousers and a particular kind of head-dress as seen in the drawing. Tight waistlines accentuated the bosom that was supported by a short kind of jacket. Often a *sayia* was worn over the trousers and the first skirt. It had the form of a long overcoat with long sleeves (illus. no. 165). Greek men wore the black baggy trousers to the knee known as *vraka* with a wide sash around the waist and a gilet over long sleeved shirts (illus. no. 166). On festive occasions they would wear finely decorated long sleeved gilets with tight high collars and a cap with a heavy tassel of black silk thread. They wore their moustache long and well groomed regarding it as the proper insignia of manhood (illus. no. 167). The Turks wore long overcoats with wide sleeves and their characteristic turban, a long piece of narrow cloth wrapped around their head (illus. no. 168).

Two sketches of the interior of monasteries touch upon another aspect of the social scene on the island: the role of the priest or the monk in Cypriot life. He is a leading figure who is looked up to. Thus in one a Turk, identified by his white long baggy trousers is visiting the priest to discuss business: they are talking intimately and the priest looks attentive (illus. no. 169). As late as the end of the Ottoman rule, the church retained its power which was used for the protection of its flock and quite often for its own financial gain. The figures add an anecdotal and local interest to the architectural setting of the monastery which includes Ottoman elements (the latticed window), Greek elements (the capital of the column in the foreground) and traditional Cypriot characteristics such as the arches, the covered porch, the outdoor staircase and the sloping wooden roof found in the mountainous areas of Cyprus.

The next sketch presents two novices, their rank verified by their head-dress, discussing something between them in the tempting presence of a young woman. The sensitive nature of the artist must have apprehended some kind of mischief in the atmosphere that

he recreated in his scene. The two novices, standing in postures hardly becoming of monks, are into light-hearted conversation. One has a faint smile on his face, while the other is facing the young woman, who in turn, does not seem to portray much reverence in the presence of monks, her posture far from expressing humility and respect (illus. no. 170).

Just as Barskii made it his task to portray the Byzantine monuments of Cyprus, one could say that Duthoit made it his task to portray the Gothic edifices of the island, both identifying with what was most familiar to them. The architecture of the Gothic and the Byzantine styles were the French draughtsman's main interest; through these Latin monuments the French public could admire the *âge d'or* of France. Numerous drawings of the Cathedrals of St. Sophia and of St. Nicolas, of the churches of St. Catherine and St. George, of the Abbey of Bellapais, as well as of the castles sprinkled all over Cyprus make Duthoit's work invaluable. Particularly impressive are his views of the Buffavento and Kantara castles (illus. no. 171-175) which appear like eagles' nests perched on the mountain cliffs. He drew from a different perspective than Damour. The scene is presented from above looking down on the castle that affords better and more detailed understanding of the ruins. There are horizontal and vertical sections of the monuments accompanied by explanatory notes. Some of these drawing were later borrowed by another French scholar Camille Enlart, in order to illustrate his famous book on the Gothic and Renaissance art of Cyprus.

Seen as a whole, Duthoit's work in Cyprus presents a country that is exotic enough to attract interest yet often enough the viewer feels as if he is peregrinating on familiar ground and is being re-introduced to the old glory of France through its immense impact apparent on the island. There is a delicate balance achieved by the artist whereby Cyprus is presented as multicultural and exotic without being distanced from the West. This is what his audience would have liked; touching upon their psychology and ideology, the sense of familiarity within these relatively new impressions would help them understand, appreciate and want the country.



There is no doubt that the two French artists, Grasset and Duthoit were the first serious graphic ethnographers of Cyprus and with them starts this aspect of the artistic representation of the island. Both had similar interests but each approached his subject from a different standpoint. While Grasset, who lived in Cyprus and was a voice from within, wanted through his illustrations to stir the interest in Cyprus by presenting it as exotic and beautiful, Duthoit, who was sent from France on a specific mission, worked on presenting realistic and informative images. Being more detached and academic in his approach, he portrayed a desolate country containing a wealth of cultural and antiquarian interest thus making a statement concerning its future.

### *A bashful artist*

*Brabazon is the only person since Turner at whose feet I can sit and worship and learn about colour.* This was declared by no other than a contemporary of both men, John Ruskin.<sup>316</sup> A few years later, in December 1892 Hercules Brabazon Brabazon<sup>317</sup> was to have his first one-man show at the Goupil Gallery in Bond Street at the age of seventy-one. The art critics were unanimous in their appraisal: *He is the best watercolour painter we have had since Turner* proclaimed D.S. MacColl in the *Spectator*, December 1892. The artist himself, a shy old gentleman had in fact tried to cancel the exhibition afraid of the limelight but his pleas were ignored by the organiser and by his admirers headed by John Singer Sargent; so he fled to Venice where he remained throughout the duration of the exhibition.

The death of his elder brother followed by the death of his father in 1858 afforded Hercules Brabazon a lifelong financial independence which enabled him to pursue his greatest passions, that of painting and music. He returned to England and took up

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<sup>316</sup>Al Weil: The strange eclipse of Hercules Brabazon: A missing chapter in the British Art History, in the catalogue of the exhibition organised by Chris Beetles: Hercules Brabazon Brabazon (1821-1906) and the New English Art Club, London, October 1986.

<sup>317</sup> See appendix.

residence in Morpeth Terrace, Westminster, where he developed his watercolour techniques with the liberal use of Chinese white, or body colour, beneath each colour, which gave the painting a thicker oil-like texture. He did not insist on white paper but instead used tinted paper often not covering it completely with paint allowing it instead to become part of his composition in its own right. This method worked especially well with his pictures of the Middle East replacing the background desert sand with lightly brownish tinted paper, or by allowing the background of his still life watercolours to remain plain tinted paper creating an atmospheric quality and affording the artist great speed in creating dazzling effects with very few colours.

From 1860 onwards Hercules Brabazon Brabazon embarked on his travels which included France, Italy, Greece, North Africa, Cyprus, Egypt, the Holy Land, Turkey and India. Having felt a life-long admiration for Turner and Velasquez, he produced thousands of watercolours in the impressionist style, of which most were topographical. He enjoyed observing people whom he constantly sketched at their daily activities. His views were rarely devoid of figures, full of atmosphere and a strong sense of perspective coming from his knowledge of geometry that helped the artist to use proportions in effecting a sense of locality and intimacy in his sketches. Although his use of colours is limited, his works are full of light and warmth achieved by a strong interplay of an almost monochrome background against a few brushstrokes of very vivid colour.

Brabazon never stopped calling himself an amateur and always gave the proceeds of the sales of his work to charity. In 1867 he was elected a member of the Burlington Fine Arts Club along with Rossetti and John Ruskin and in 1891 he became a member of the New English Art Club. He was a founder member of the Pastel Society in 1899. He featured in exhibitions along with Corot and Whistler while Claude Monet, his close friend, admired his watercolours. In 1904, Brabazon died in his sleep at the age of eighty-four in his beloved home the Oaklands.

Although we have no detailed records of his journey to Cyprus, Brabazon must have visited the island in the 1860s. He was in Cairo in 1860, he sailed the Nile in 1868 and



left for India in 1875. Most probably he came to Cyprus after his Nile trip. He must have stayed for a few days as he produced watercolours of Famagusta and Kyrenia which are now in private collections. The brown sandy seashores of Cyprus set against the deep blue of the sea were no unfamiliar colour theme for the artist. Dots of strong Chinese white served to accentuate small sailing boats in the blue sea or surf from the blue waves on the seafront. Every now and then a brushstroke of bright red calls the attention to the small figures walking on the shore.

In his watercolour titled *Castle in Cyprus*<sup>318</sup> (illus. no. 176) the shore is dominated by a castle that must be that of Kyrenia drawn from an eastern position looking north-west. Being impressionistic the watercolour does not allow one to look for distinguishing identification marks of the castle but the identification is verified when compared with another of Brabazon's watercolours titled *Carascene, Cyprus*<sup>319</sup> (illus. no. 177). The artist exhibits a castle of similar outline set at the edge of a landscape with the same focal points: a patch of trees just before the edifice, almost the same shoreline and almost the same grouping of figures. The difference between the two pictures is the distance from which the artist drew the view. In the first instance the painter was closer to the castle affording a clearer view of it and presenting it as the main feature. In his second picture, Brabazon wanted to portray more of the setting. It is a topographical watercolour of Cyprus drawn East of Kyrenia town; it could be a Sunday afternoon when the people are out for a stroll on this picturesque seashore. Although the castle is not the main feature, the title of the watercolour and the long robes worn by the figures on the shore, are indicative of the topography and demography of the island. *Carascene*, refers to the position of the artist, being an Anglicised version of the name Karakoumi, a village East of Kyrenia town. It was always a small village, more like a settlement and one of the few that although inhabited by both Greeks and Turks, retained a genuine Turkish name meaning black (kara) sand.<sup>320</sup> The village is just on the outskirts of the

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<sup>318</sup> Presently in a private collection in Nicosia, measuring 10x28 cm.

<sup>319</sup> Al Weil: Hercules Brabazon Brabazon (1821-1906) and the New English Art Club no.39: watercolour and body colour on tinted paper, 8.5x10.5 inches.

<sup>320</sup> Nearchos Clerides: Towns and villages of Cyprus, Nicosia 1961, p. 99.  
I.K. Peristianis: A General history of the Island of Cyprus, Nicosia 1910, pp. 148-149; *Karakoumi: a*

town of Kyrenia and affords a view of the castle. From the mode of dress it is clear that Brabazon has depicted the scene with Moslem figures which specify the exotic and oriental character of the location.

Brabazon's third view of Cyprus is one of *Famagusta*<sup>321</sup> (illus. no. 178) taken from a distance and portraying the town gathered around the imposing cathedral of St. Nicolas. Once again the impressionist nature of the watercolour does not allow the viewer to distinguish the finer details of the architecture but affords an atmospheric impression of a town with a medieval edifice in its centre, bathed in colour and light, very reminiscent of views by Turner. The artist did not bother with realistic representations of the monuments of Cyprus. His effort was dedicated fully to the illustration of a topographical scene that may retain its integral interest even though it is presented by the use of free and totally unrestrained brushstrokes of colour and the creation of atmosphere through light. Brabazon successfully did away with the traditional methods of description used by his contemporary travel artists. His paintings capture the bright light and strong colours of the scene, his palette allowing the viewer to experience the artist's sense of exhilaration and intense visual sensation.

### *Painting the exotic and picturesque*

Five years later another distinguished personality was to visit Cyprus. His book and drawings made Cyprus known to the European Court of Emperor Franz Joseph I. *Poor boy, you will own many properties, many castles, but you will never have a home*,<sup>322</sup> was the prophecy of a Lady in Waiting for the third son of the Grand Duke of Tuscany Leopold II, the young Archduke Louis Salvador.<sup>323</sup> This was to be entirely true as Nixe,

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*small orchard or farm by the sea, very close to the eastern part of Kyrenia town. 41 inhabitants. Contains one church dedicated to St. Basil, built in the nineteenth century.*

<sup>321</sup> Private collection in Nicosia

<sup>322</sup> Archduke Louis Salvador of Austria: *Levkosia the capital of Cyprus*, first published in English by C. Kegan Paul and Co., 1881, reprinted by Trigraph- London, The Newdigate Press Ltd., Surrey, 1983, p. 71

<sup>323</sup> See appendix.



a large steam yacht was to become the Archduke's *country house surrounded by eternal youth, for on our globe only the sea remains eternally young*.<sup>324</sup> Aboard it he sailed the blue sea of the Mediterranean and lived with and learned about its people and their lives.

Archduke Salvador was born on August 4th 1847 in the Pitti Palace in Florence. As a great grandson of the Emperor Leopold II he belonged to the house of Austria. From a very young age he expressed intense interest in scientific studies and writing which led him to a bohemian way of life; travelling and observing won him the affectionate title of the "court savant" of his family. When not at sea, Majorca and Villa Zindis in the Gulf of Trieste were his homes on land. Travelling was facilitated by his mastering of fourteen languages and his warm and affectionate personality. The *Nixe* always hosted a number of guests from Counts to poets and chaplains, *sometimes with his enormous corpulence and the parasol he always carried, he was taken for the ringmaster of a circus*.<sup>325</sup> It was also his floating study and studio where he produced more than fifty works mostly about the islands of the Mediterranean he had visited, illustrated by his own drawings. Salvador never married, was a devout Catholic and hated formalities, choosing to travel mostly incognito; he died in Austria on October 12th 1915 and was buried in the Capuchin Convent in Vienna.

*Levkosia the capital of Cyprus* was his sixth published work, first written in German and later translated into English by Ferdinand Ritter von Krapf-Liverhoff. Unfortunately, the English stock of this book was destroyed by fire leaving only a few surviving copies. Salvador visited the island in 1873, being one of the last authors to record the sites, architecture, industry and trade and the everyday life of the people of Nicosia at the end of the Ottoman period of Cyprus. He did not refer to the rest of the island but rather chose to treat Nicosia or Levkosia (the Greek name of the town in Roman characters) as a microcosm of the island. The text is illustrated with fifteen charming sketches by Louis Salvador that bring alive the content of the book.

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<sup>324</sup> Salvador of Austria: Levkosia the capital of Cyprus p. 72

<sup>325</sup> *Ibid* p. 73

*When passing a pleasant range of hills, Levkosia first bursts upon the sight with her slender palms and minarets, seated in a desert plain, a chain of picturesque mountains in the background, it is like a dream of the Arabian Nights realised- a bouquet of orange gardens and palm trees in a country without verdure, an oasis encircled with walls framed by human hands*<sup>326</sup>.

Accompanied by a sketch of minute detail and of panoramic qualities (illus. no. 179), the extract brings to mind a description by Otto Von Richter in 1816 of the same place confirming that hardly any change had taken place over a period of half a century. A closer approach to the town resulted in another drawing very similar to the work of Antonio Schranz (1837) (illus. no. 86), in which the walls figure prominently, the same low door breaks the forefront of the wall and the palm trees reach up in the distance (illus. no. 180). Louis Salvador was nearer to the town than Schranz and was able to give us a closer look distinguishing the houses with the enclosed gardens and their simple one or two- room construction. Three figures are crouching by the pathway leading into the city, obviously enjoying the winter sun. The Cathedral of St. Sophia that figures in Schranz' drawing is absent from that of Salvador. The purpose of this second sketch is to illustrate the mode of living and the architecture of the houses to which he devotes a chapter:

*Most of the houses are made of big clay bricks, as they say, for fear of the earthquakes. The price of 1000 of these bricks is 100 piasters, or about a pound sterling. Building is done with great rapidity; some mortar, composed of earth and straw, is poured from the mason's tray with two handles over the brick, another one, half crumbled and dusty, is put on the top of it, some more of the pap follows, another brick and so on and a house is finished in less than no time, and has the advantage, moreover, of being dry soon after it is finished.*<sup>327</sup>

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<sup>326</sup> *Ibid* Preface

<sup>327</sup> *Ibid* p. 19



Amongst the flat-roofed houses one can distinguish tall, two-storey imposing buildings which the author describes in his text as belonging either to the Turks or to a few Greeks. The rest of his drawings concentrate on two basic elements, the architecture and the Turkish element of Cyprus; it seems that the artist was impressed by the prevalence of the second. Although he devotes a short chapter to the Greek churches and monasteries, the drawings are of the exotic and picturesque and among the most orientalist that had appeared up till this period. They are characterised by a serenity often equated with the Oriental mode of living which is not infrequently expressed in illustrations usually through inactivity: people seen either crouching on the ground, smoking a narghile, or walking about aimlessly. Inertia occurs often in representations of Turks. Monfort's figure was standing relaxed with his hands behind his back. Arundale's Turkish figures were enjoying the sunset, while Turkish figures are mostly walking aimlessly in Duthoit's drawings. On the contrary the Greeks are represented working or in some activity. This "inertia theme" is also present in the texts of most travellers who always comment in the difference between the two peoples. However, there is no busy life in the drawings of Salvador, as Greeks are hardly represented. Only small figures are included here and there; the views are of houses and streets, of buildings and edifices that are not ruinous or dilapidated but appear to be lived in and in use. Vigorous vine covers the street in his drawing of the *(Bazar-Brunnen) Wells in Bazaar* (illus. no. 181), the water-bucket by the side of the well in the foreground indicating that the well is in use. A figure in a half-opened door and others in the far end of the street hardly convey the usual idea of a Bazaar that should have been bustling of activity. A donkey under a tree in the *Yeni Djami*<sup>328</sup> drawing of the Turkish cemetery (illus. no. 182) indicates that someone is in the vicinity. Four female figures can be distinguished amongst the tomb stones. The lavish garden in the *(Halle eines Privathouses) Hall in a private house*, (illus. no. 183) creates the expectation that the host will appear to welcome the viewer any moment. In most drawings there is the minaret, either in the foreground or the background or attached to the Gothic buildings

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<sup>328</sup> Yeni Djami means New Mosque and as explained by the author, this mosque stands in the place of an older mosque and even older Latin church: *This mosque was destroyed by a rapacious Pasha who dreamt that a hidden treasure was to be found underneath it. Ibid p. 36.*

of *Ayia Sophia* (illus. no. 184) or the *Haidar Pascha Djami*<sup>329</sup>(illus. no. 185). There are the inevitable palm-trees, a trade mark of the Orient, and figures in oriental costumes, distinguishable only by the breadth and length of the garments and the head-dresses. Even in the drawings that illustrate Gothic monuments like the *(Portal des Baptisterium) Porch of the Baptistery*<sup>330</sup> (illus. no. 186) and *(Die Venetianer Saule) The Venetian Column*<sup>331</sup>(illus. no. 187), where no minaret is in sight, the Oriental touch is given by the inclusion of a *hanoum* (a Turkish woman) in the first case and of the palm tree in the second. Most exotic and oriental are Salvador's drawings of *(Die Tahta Gala vom Famagosta thor aus), Tahta gala from Famagusta Gate*<sup>332</sup> (illus. no. 188), *(Haus der Tripiotis Gasse), View in Tripiotis Street*<sup>333</sup>(illus. no. 189) and *Bejuk Khan* (illus. no. 190). In these emphasis is given to the architecture of the town. In the drawing of the Tahtakala area from the Famagusta Gate the archway of the Gate clearly made out of thick stone blocks frames the street with a djami at the far end. The street is broad, with palm trees at its side, and a sentry's box under them. This used to be one of the main streets of the town with two-storey houses, leading to the centre. The second drawing illustrates what Salvador wrote:

*The foundations of these buildings are in most cases of stone, and usually of ancient origin. Remains of ancient walls are usually found under modern houses, some of them leaning half over, as also old arcades with rough arches.*

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<sup>329</sup> Northeast of St. Sophia is Haidar Pascha Djami known to the Greeks as the church of St. Catherine, built in the XV century.

<sup>330</sup> This is the famous door of the building known to the Turks as the Bedestan, meaning the Exchange or Market. It was originally the Greek Orthodox Cathedral of St. Nicolas, built in the early fourteenth century.

<sup>331</sup> George Jeffery: *Description of the Historic Monuments of Cyprus*, p. 59: *In the square of the Konak stands the symbol of Venetian Dominion still preserved...*

<sup>332</sup> The author explains that the Turks lived mainly about the parts of town near Famagusta Gate and the mosque of Tahta Cala. The street of Tahta Cala started from the Gate and led to the bazaars, thus forming the main entrance to the city.

<sup>333</sup> One of the main streets of Nicosia was called Tripiotis taking its name from the church of Tripiotis; it was known as Bash Mahalla, meaning the great neighbourhood and was inhabited mainly by Greeks. It carries the same name today.



*Most of the Turkish houses have prominent pavilions, with lattice worked windows: others to the number of about 150, mostly in the Turkish and Greek districts, are surmounted by wooden gables; the roofs project far out, and has a sort of wooden casement under the prominent part of it, made in the Turkish fashion; the water is allowed to run down from it into a wooden gutter running all around the eaves. The great majority of the houses, especially in the mixed districts, are simply covered with clay, cross-board and rushes, which are usually supported by marble cornices.*<sup>334</sup>

The row of houses with the walled garden over which spills the lush vegetation, the figure of the woman with the broad woven tray with foodstuff balanced on her head, and the child beside her, form a typical oriental aspect of Nicosia, which could easily be mistaken for a street scene in the Turkish metropolis or in Damascus.

The final drawing is of one of the biggest khans on the island, the Bejuk Khan<sup>335</sup> that still survives today. A wonderful perspective is given of one of the few Turkish buildings in Nicosia, where Ottoman architecture can be appreciated. All the elements are present: a large courtyard, surrounded by a two-storey row of chambers; a domed fountain; a colonnade of pointed arches, forming a covered veranda before the entrance to the chambers and providing shaded space for the lodgers and animals. Outdoor and uncovered staircases lead to the upper floors; the windows are latticed. The fountain is decorated all round by a series of arches which emphasises its importance and make it the focal point.

Four of Salvador's drawings admit to the Western or Frankish elements of the town. A view of St. Sophia from the back of the building gives little architectural detail but the attachment of a minaret on a western edifice captures the curiosity of the viewer. The edifice does not appear majestic as in works by some other artists and perhaps this is the least attractive of the artist's sketches. In his drawing of the Bedestan doorway Salvador gave more attention to the intricate decoration of the gable but still this picture lacks the

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<sup>334</sup> Salvador of Austria: Levkosia the capital of Cyprus, p. 19

<sup>335</sup> Beyuk Khan: the Great Khan, built in the Bursa style of an inn in 1572. It was used as a prison during the British rule and is now classified as an ancient monument.

sensibility and charm found in the rest of his works. More interesting appears to be the sketch of *Haidar Pascha djami si* where the Gothic building surmounted by the upright minaret has by its side a decaying palm tree. This tree with hardly any of the large leaves that should sprout from its top reflects the decay of the building, once an important Christian church. The darkness of the archway, the absence of any other form of vegetation and the lonely figure of a woman in dark attire contribute to the melancholy and neglect emanating from the drawing.

Salvador's sketches demonstrate the deplorable state of the island in 1873; there is a distinctive feeling for detail in the illustrations which links up with Salvador's most interesting prose; both exhibit a love for technical detail and precise observation. He is methodical in his compositions, almost academic. In illustrations 183, 185 and 188 he pairs the palm trees and the minaret achieving a most striking effect, while in his sketches 181, 183 and 188 the minaret is framed by arches thus being brought forward as the focal point in the pictures. His compositions are well thought out and scholarly in their structure while also aiming at being above all attractive. They remind one of selective tourist photographs that sell as nostalgic souvenirs (illus. nos. 189, 190). While the pictures present the Ottoman rule having taken its toll, Nicosia comes out of them sleepy and tired, enveloped in a nostalgic atmosphere. The Gothic is hereby losing its prominent role and the exotic/oriental comes to the foreground, associated, both in this work as in some of Duthoit's, with a nostalgic yearning for those connotations and qualities found in the past, that best conveyed and were associated with the passive and picturesque oriental. In five years Cyprus was to change hands and become part of the British Empire. By then the exotic and the oriental would have come to dominate the aspirations of the visiting artists.

### *Fascinated by the light*

During these few years before the British occupation of the island two more artists captured the last moments of the Ottoman rule and transferred them to canvas and paper. Both came from Italy.



Born on 23 July 1844 in Frascati Italy, Hermann David Solomon Corrodi<sup>336</sup> was the son of artist Hermann Solomon Corrodi the Eldest. He had inherited his father's talent and worked mainly in oils that were inspired by his travels to the Middle East, giving him the title of an Orientalist artist in the academic sense of the word. Corrodi studied in Rome and was appointed private art tutor to Princess Alexandra of England, sister of George I of the Hellenes. He offered many of his paintings to Queen Victoria for the Royal Collection.<sup>337</sup> Corrodi travelled extensively to Egypt, Constantinople, Persia and Cyprus. His paintings were often reproduced as illustrations for travel books or romantic novels. He was proclaimed a member and became a Professor of the Accademia di San. Luca. Sadly a fire at his studio in 1897 burnt most of his Orientalist works. The artist died on 30th January 1905, in Rome.<sup>338</sup>

Corrodi's work is highly decorative and romantic. He had a special interest in the expression of the different colours of light that he experienced and was fascinated by in the Middle East; this is the predominant factor in his work. Strong use of yellow and shades of red colour interplay with the blue of Corrodi's skies or waters, be it in the views of the Nile or the seashores of the Mediterranean. He preferred making detailed sketches for his paintings on the spot and then working them up into usually large oils back home. Thus most of them are inscribed "Rome" and dated accordingly although they present views of other lands. This of course had another effect on his work: he did not pay thorough attention to faithful representation but was rather absorbed by his romantic flirtation with colours and light. Often he made various versions and sizes of the same painting.

The artist must have visited Cyprus during his travels to Egypt in 1877. A large oil on canvas signed by him and inscribed *Rome* exists in a private collection in Nicosia (illus.

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<sup>336</sup> See appendix.

<sup>337</sup> In the Queen's collection there are sadly no views of Cyprus by Corrodi with the exception of an identical version of the one discussed further on, listed under number 402126, oil on canvas, 102.4x64 cm and titled *View of a Mediterranean coast with a girl and a dove*.

<sup>338</sup> Tieme and Becker, reprint 1992, vol. 7, p. 469

no. 191). The same view appears as an engraving titled *Larnaca auf Zypern* in the German periodical “Garden Laube”, c. 1910. Indeed the grandeur of the house is in accord with the geographical attribution of the painting since as late as the end of the nineteenth century, large houses built from stone were mostly to be found in Larnaca and belonged to the Consuls of foreign nations. The colour of the stone is of the greyish stone of Cyprus.<sup>339</sup> There is the Cypriot arch, an example of the local architecture, surmounting rough Corinthian columns. The house is two-storied by the sea, with a covered veranda to provide shelter from the sun. The young girl is wearing a Cypriot costume of the style worn by the urban population during that period. A full red skirt with a shorter overskirt more like an apron on top, a red scarf on her shoulders and a very distinguishable Greek style gilet in blue with gold trimmings. As she is young the skirt is not full length but down to mid-calf. The costume is a version of the *Queen Amalia* costume that was popular in Cyprus in the nineteenth century.<sup>340</sup> She is wearing gold hoop earrings that were a status symbol<sup>341</sup> and her hair is plaited into two long black plaits interwoven with red ribbons, often done in this manner by young girls.<sup>342</sup> She is barefoot but this does not detract from her status; the heat of Cyprus allowed the young to go about without shoes this does not necessarily denote poverty.<sup>343</sup> This detailed costume presentation is perhaps one of the best to be found in the paintings of Cyprus over the century.

The palm tree appearing through the arches and the climbing vine entwined in the pergola over the veranda of the house attest to the local vegetation. On the opposite side of the painting tall slender cypress-trees partly obscure buildings which appear to be

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<sup>339</sup> Such quarries were found and some are still in use in the Paphos district such as the stone quarry of Avdimou and Anogyra.

<sup>340</sup> Efrosyne Rizopoulou Egoumenidou: The Urban costume of Cyprus during the 18th and 19th century pp. 76 and 137, illustration 122.

<sup>341</sup> *Ibid* pp. 191- 192

<sup>342</sup> Magda Ohnefalsch-Richter: Griechische Sitten und gebrauch auf Zypern, Berlin Dietrich Reimer (Ernst Vohsen), 1913, translated and published in Greek by the Popular Bank Cultural Centre, Nicosia, 1994, p. 184.

<sup>343</sup> *Ibid* p. 190



some kind of religious establishment with a white and rounded roof visible amongst the trees. Doves are scattered in the foreground. These birds, which lived in abundance all over the island and were mostly domesticated,<sup>344</sup> combined with the cypress trees and the presence of the young girl, give the painting a serene and romantic atmosphere. This is reinforced as a moment in time by the magnificent colours of the rising sun from the blue sea. The artist, true to his style, put all his effort in creating atmosphere by the use of the warm and glowing light which, spreads and lightens into the sky above in luminous shades. It must be an autumn morning as the foreground is covered with brown dry leaves. Against the sun the artist has drawn blossoming bushes and delicate branches of small wild carnations in deep red colour which seem to enjoy the awakening of the sun, while the doves are flapping their wings not minding the human presence.

In trying to identify the exact location or which house this is, the most likely possibility appears to be somewhere near the monastery of Ayios Georgios the Distant. The buildings on the right of the picture behind the cypress trees could be part of the monastery enclosure while the house, could be one of the Consuls' houses. More specifically, it could have belonged to one of the few Consuls who were of Greek origin, which would explain the presence of the young girl of certain standing. This is only a conjecture as there is no evidence or information as to the buildings around the Lake.

In all versions of the painting<sup>345</sup> doves are present. According to Cypriot tradition were the sacred birds of Aphrodite. Clay images of the goddess are decorated with doves. Images of doves prevail in local handicraft, they appear in local woodcarvings and embroideries and carry a special meaning of peace and love. The artist was perhaps aware of the local significance of the bird and made use of it as a symbol of the country.

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<sup>344</sup> *Ibid.* p. 21 and p. 141.

<sup>345</sup> A third version of the same subject was sold by Sotheby's auction house in 1994.

During his visit to Cyprus Corrodi produced at least two more paintings of the island which appeared at auction in recent years.<sup>346</sup> It would have been interesting to see his choice of subject in these but unfortunately it has not been possible to trace them.

### *The monarch of all I survey*<sup>347</sup>

The work of Luigi Palma Di Cesnola<sup>348</sup> brings us to the end of the Ottoman era. An Italian soldier turned American diplomat and then antiquarian, Cesnola made Cyprus known to every museum and collector in the nineteenth century by removing and selling the most of its archaeological treasures.

Born in Piedmont in 1832 and having trained in the Military Academy of Savoy, he left Italy after an incident in the army that led to his discharge. After a distinguished career in the American Civil War he was rewarded for his services with a consulship in Cyprus. He arrived on the island in 1865 and remained in Cyprus for almost eleven years. At certain stages he also represented Russia and Greece, but his consular duties did not interfere much with his real preoccupation, which was collecting ancient art. His love for antiquities was hardly distinguishable from his interest in financial gain. Thus, a massive amount found its way to the Metropolitan Museum of New York, where Cesnola was appointed Director for life as well as to a number of other museums in Europe. In 1877, after having left the island, he published a book on his life and antiquarian escapades titled *Cyprus: Its ancient Cities, Tombs and Temples*.<sup>349</sup> The book is illustrated with numerous representations of the archaeological artefacts from various excavations; however, also included are a number of sketches made by the author during his brief moments of relaxation at the sites. Unfortunately precision was

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<sup>346</sup> *A street scene in Nicosia* was sold in London by Phillips auction on 22 March 1976, under lot no. 176, not illustrated in the catalogue, signed and inscribed *Nicosia*, 102x56 cm. On 29 October 1992, Finarte auction house in Milan sold under lot no. 79 *Cipro Nicosia* by H. D. S. Corrodi, oil on canvas.

<sup>347</sup> Acknowledgements to Mary Louise Pratt's subtitle of her chapter 9 in Imperial Eyes Travel and Transculturation, which I hereby borrow.

<sup>348</sup> See appendix.

<sup>349</sup> Luigi Palma Di Cesnola: Cyprus: its ancient Cities, Tombs and Temples, John Murray, London, 1877



not one of Cesnola's virtues and just as in his text, so in his sketches the degree of accuracy leaves much to be desired.

It was only natural that the first sketch in the book would be of Larnaca, where the author lived. A small vignette decorates the first chapter and depicts the town surrounded by the walls over which rise the familiar palm trees and minarets and a couple of domes of Christian churches, thus orientating the viewer (illus. no. 192). Compared with his view of Curium,<sup>350</sup> this view lacks the personal touch of the latter. There Cesnola has portrayed himself sitting under a large tree looking at his beloved site of Curium which extends in front of him (illus. no. 193). Protected by the sun, under the tree, he is quenching his thirst. Next to him are laid out the accessories of the hard working American consul, a table for his drawing, a bench to lie down and rest and a servant attempting to start a fire for the preparation of a meal. The scene brings to mind the comments of Mary Louise Pratt:

*As a rule, the "discovery" of sites...involved making one's way to the region and asking the local inhabitants if they knew of any...in the area, then asking them to take you there, whereupon, with their guidance and support, you proceeded to discover what they already knew... Crudely then, discovery in this context consisted of converting local knowledge into European national and continental knowledge associated with European forms and relations of power.*<sup>351</sup>

Cesnola's imperialist attitude is evident not only in his sketches but in his text and his self-confidence often leads him to incredible assumptions. In his sketch of a priest, a *papas* (illus. no. 194), the artist finds the cap of his sitter peculiar:

*I first remarked that the Greek priests in the interior, who worked in the fields like the peasants, wear a conical hat, not unlike those represented in the statues discovered at*

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<sup>350</sup> Ancient Greek theatre in the Limassol district. It was constructed c.120 BC and destroyed by earthquake c. 370 AD. There, Cesnola claimed to have found a treasure.

*Gogloi and it appears to me not improbable that this fashion of hat has been handed down from the times of the Cypriot priests of Venus. Not only this but there seems to be a resemblance between the figures of the priest who here attracted my attention and his sculptured predecessors.*<sup>352</sup>

The conical cap in fact formed part of the habit of the Greek Orthodox monks; the features of the priest speak of hardship, poverty and sadness. What in fact Cesnola has made obvious is the struggle for survival and the hardship he encountered on the island, both of which of course facilitated his trade in antiquities and gave an air of legitimacy and even of benevolence to his actions. But most important he wanted to accentuate the concept of “continuity” to be found on the island: the Cypriots are the descendants of those *primitive* people represented by the statues. Years later this concept was analysed and used by the British Colonial administration in order to formulate the Cypriot identity. Similarly, Simeon the Hermit is a survivor from the remote past in the environs of Kantara castle<sup>353</sup> (illus. no. 195). Having sketched the interior of a tomb (illus. no. 196) where large sarcophagi lay, some undisturbed for centuries, some already opened and smashed by marauders, the author unashamedly speaks of spoliation, marauders and of the iniquities of tomb robbing but absolves himself of these crimes<sup>354</sup>.

In these images from the very end of the Ottoman occupation of Cyprus, European artists and writers represent the island from a shifting perspective. They bring to the foreground its cultural heritage from the ancient classical and later Christian civilisations, which inevitably identify it as a suitable candidate for colonial “recovery” from its Ottoman present.

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<sup>351</sup> Mary Louise Pratt: Travel writing and Transculturation, Routledge, London and New York, 1992, p. 202

<sup>352</sup> Luigi Palma Di Cesnola: Cyprus: Its Ancient Cities, Tombs and Temples, reprint edition, Star Graphics, Nicosia, 1991, p. 180

<sup>353</sup> Built on one of the peaks of the Kyrenia mountain range.

<sup>354</sup> Some more views of the seafront of Larnaca (illus. no. 197) serve as decorations at the beginning of each chapter of the book Salamina, by Alexander Palma Di Cesnola (Whiting and Co., London, 1884), a cousin of Luigi. The tall furnaces protruding above the buildings are the first signs of the process of *industrialisation* in Cyprus. These were used for the production of terra umbra or ochre, earth from which colours were extracted for using in paints.



## THE ARRIVAL OF THE BRITISH

It was with invective and recriminations that British opposition received the news of the Anglo-Turkish Convention of July 8, 1878. The mastermind behind this Convention, which guaranteed the Sultan's dominions against Russian territorial encroachments and at the same time provided Britain with a *place d' armes* in the Levant - deemed necessary for serving British interests in Central Asia and India – was the Prime Minister himself, Benjamin Disraeli. Cyprus was chosen as the most suitable *place d' armes* due to its location, size, population, defensibility and commercial prospects.<sup>355</sup> The Liberal party headed by W. E. Gladstone disputed not only Disraeli's foreign policy but also the value of occupying Cyprus, arguing that this was an unprofitable extension and an unwise engagement which would only weaken the British Empire. Under such inauspicious circumstances the island was introduced to the British public.

### *Presenting the new acquisition*

Two British weekly newspapers, *The Illustrated London News* and *The Graphic*, hurried to present the first profiles of Cyprus in a series of articles compiled and illustrated by special correspondents sent to the island. Military personnel with artistic interest, already based in Cyprus, contributed as well with illustrations and photographs. Lieutenant G. H. Lane<sup>356</sup> of the 101st Regiment, Captain R. Coveny<sup>357</sup> of the 42nd Regiment, Lieutenant Alan Gilmore<sup>358</sup> of the 61st Regiment who was later Local Commander of the Military Police of Nicosia, Captain McCalmont,<sup>359</sup> and W. J.

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<sup>355</sup> George Georghallides: A Political and Administrative History of Cyprus, Cyprus Research Centre, Nicosia, 1979, p. 6

<sup>356</sup> See appendix.

<sup>357</sup> See appendix.

<sup>358</sup> See appendix.

Eastman of the Royal Marine Artillery were but a few. Perhaps though the most valuable special correspondent was Samuel Pasfield Oliver<sup>360</sup> who, almost every week, sent his article to *The Illustrated London News* accompanied by his own sketches. The July-December 1878 editions of both newspapers/ magazines contain extensive reports and altogether ninety illustrations. A study of these will give us an overall picture of the island as well as the attitudes and intentions of the first British administrators who were to a large extent military personnel.

Most of the illustrations are topographical; the variation of the Cypriot landscape and climate intrigued the newly arrived. Upon discovering that the mountains were a pleasant alternative to the heat of the plains, rumours about an unhealthy atmosphere soon subsided and the country was described in positive terms:

*The soil is sandy and dusty but wonderfully fertile; and wherever any irrigation is possible, the brightest verdure is apparent. Of course at this time of the year the ground is burnt up and the vegetation is scorched; but nevertheless, where the ground is but scratched green crops of various descriptions are to be seen growing. The gardens about the thriving villages are wonderfully productive, as is indeed shown in the inexhaustible vegetable supply of the Larnaca bazaars and market. The place can produce anything; the soil is rich and fertile, in spite of its present pulverised, dusty look. The health of the troops at present is reassuring; the percentage of the sick in hospital is as small, if not smaller than it would be in England at the same time of the year. We hear of no sickness amongst the inhabitants either of town or country; and it is not possible to see a more healthy lot of country folk than these cheery Cyprians, some very rough looking but picturesque peasants, with a large predominance of classical features. A great proportion we notice have fair complexions and hair.*<sup>361</sup>

A number of sketches present panoramic views of the coast, the mountains and the towns. The Latin monuments were of predominant interest and feature in most

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<sup>359</sup> See appendix.

<sup>360</sup> See appendix.

<sup>361</sup> Samuel Pasfield Oliver: *The Illustrated London News*, August 24 1878, p. 186



illustrations. Aspects of St. Nicolas Cathedral were used twice as frontispieces of *The Illustrated London News*,<sup>362</sup> even though Famagusta was described as *a city of the dead*<sup>363</sup> inhabited only by about two hundred Turks (Greeks were still not allowed to live there). Moreover, sketches by military officers, of the Venetian fortifications of Famagusta and Nicosia, of castles, fortresses and Gates and to a lesser degree of Byzantine churches and ancient tombs, attest to the strong impression these monuments had on them. The constant featuring of camp life and activities and the large proportion of illustrations dedicated to the arrival, disembarkation and settling in of the occupying military forces can also be attributed to the background of the artists. It was intended that the readers should be made to feel proud of the important task being performed by the British soldiers and that it should be impressed upon them that the island had passed under British rule; upright stern British officers in uniform were drawn galloping through the crowds, supervising the area and giving orders to the hard-working Indian troops that had been brought into Cyprus. The Indians are depicted busy with disembarking provisions and setting up camp, breaking stones or making tracks, while the soldiers of British regiments are shown usually seated around tents in camp living up to their superior roles.

Three illustrations (illus. nos. 198-200) testify to the diverse duties that Sir Garnet Wolseley, first High Commissioner of Cyprus, had to perform upon his arrival.<sup>364</sup> He is portrayed receiving a deputation of locals in Tricomo village; judging an assault case, whereby a priest is pleading on behalf of a disgraced girl; and holding a reception at the Turkish festival of Bairam. Wolseley's tasks were indeed complex and so were the challenges facing all the new British officials (mainly army officers). They were expected not only to administer Cyprus within the narrow spirit of and for the purposes of the Anglo-Turkish Convention,<sup>365</sup> but also to foster its prosperity, an achievement

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<sup>362</sup> Saturday, July 20, 1878, and Saturday, November 16, 1878.

<sup>363</sup> *The Illustrated London News*, October 5th, 1878, p. 313

<sup>364</sup> *Ibid.* October 12, 1878, p. 352, October 19, 1878, p. 368 and November 2, 1878, p. 408 respectively.

<sup>365</sup> The Anglo-Turkish Convention of 1878 entrusted the administration of the island of Cyprus to Britain in return for her guaranteeing the Sultan's territorial possessions against Russian encroachment. Britain was to pay an annual tribute to the Porte of £5000.

which would silence the opponents of Prime Minister Disraeli's Levantine camp. Within this context, Samuel P. Oliver, a stern supporter of Government policy and excited with the new acquisition, declared the British intentions concerning the island in no uncertain terms:

*Turkey must be taught how to protect itself; and Cyprus with its wide plains and convenient position is admirably adapted for a large Turkish camp of instruction. Here the young Turkish officers could be schooled in modern warfare; and English officers might learn how to deal with Turkish soldiers...Here in these elevated regions about 2000 feet above sea-level, the main body of European troops may be quartered, at all events during the summer months..it will form an excellent sanatorium both for the soldiers and the sailors of the Mediterranean squadron, as well as for our garrison in Malta and Gibraltar, where the troops suffer from the insupportable heat from July to September...and Cyprus will doubtless soon be looked upon as a favourite quarter, as Corfu was once similarly regarded...and with a garrison of three crack regiments and a numerous English official staff of civilians as well as military, prosperity of a certain description may certainly be predicted for Cyprus.<sup>366</sup>*

To prove their anticipated successes, the British felt it necessary to record the abysmal state in which the island was found and thus be able to compare it with the subsequent years of British rule. However, the actual problems of the island were not to be allowed to deter visitors and entrepreneurs from coming, investing and helping reconstruct the place. Therefore, Cyprus should be presented in a way that would appeal as different, exotic and oriental. Apart from the topographical views, a series of engravings of the people and their everyday life fulfils this specific purpose. Views of the cafes and bazaars at Larnaca, street scenes in Nicosia around the mosque of St. Sophia, lines of camels entering the town, goatherds watering their flocks and peasants collecting carobs

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<sup>366</sup> *The Illustrated London News*: August 31 1878, pp. 210-211



create an exotic atmosphere and present the Cypriots. An engraving of the village of Khumi Kebir<sup>367</sup> portrays particularly vividly Cypriot everyday life (illus. no. 201).

Nestled at the foothills of the Kyrenia mountain range in the Carpas peninsula and under the imposing presence of the Pentadactelos peak, the village is built in the traditional Cypriot style with mud bricks, flat roofs, and pointed arches, surrounded by palm-trees and olive groves. It is a busy summer morning with people preparing for their daily chores. A woman is lighting the fire in an outdoor earthen oven that looks like an overgrown bee-hive. In the Cypriot villages cooking took place in either the outdoors oven or the hearth in the main room of the house. A donkey is being watered before setting off for the fields; it was the basic means of transport but often put to labour turning the watermill that irrigated the fields. Water is being fetched from the well in an earthen pot; there was a well in every village greatly valued by all inhabitants as Cyprus suffered from long periods of drought and rivers were mostly dry while the water pitchers were locally made with red clay in the ancient tradition. The men seem to have just woken up from their sleep on the flat roofs of the houses where they often lay in summer enjoying the cool breezes; there were no worries about safety or theft in a small island like Cyprus. Awnings provide some shade as do the covered verandas at the entrance of most houses under which babies are resting in hammocks; children were often taken by the mothers to the fields during the day, secured in improvised hammocks amongst tree branches while the women got on with their work. An olive press of stone attests to the products of the village as do the rows of tobacco leaves laid out to dry in the sun, strung through long thin sticks crossing over each other. There is a Turkish bath in the distance distinguished by its domed roof. The women are Greek wearing the Greek traditional costume of the Carpas area; the men on the rooftops wear long robes and turbans, most of them facing the East while rising to a new day, being obviously Moslem. From the fact that they have just woken up, while the figures in the yard are already at work, one can safely assume that the Turks are the masters of the house in the foreground of the picture and the people on the ground floor belong to the household servants. It is a grand house, with a walled garden and many animals. While

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<sup>367</sup> *Ibid* October 26 1878, p. 401

acknowledging the co-existence of Greeks and Turks, the artist goes further, subtly projecting class distinctions within the framework of Cypriot everyday life.

An engraving titled *St. Sophia, Nicosia*<sup>368</sup> (illus. no. 202) could be better described as a street scene in the capital of the island since the monument of St. Sophia constitutes only the background of the sketch. The cathedral appears massive and imposing, the Gothic windows catching the eye as do the two minarets, but more exotic appear the people and the activities in the street. An unpaved lane is created between the two buildings of St. Sophia and the Bedestan where traders have set out their humble stalls selling their products. Under the matted roofing lie earthen pots and woven baskets full of merchandise. People haggle over prices dressed in traditional Greek Cypriot costumes or long Turkish robes. Hanoums covered in long white veils are out for their shopping, and even some Western looking men, dressed in European attire are seen discussing prices with a local.<sup>369</sup> Children, camels, dogs, peddlers selling bread placed in wooden trays over their shoulder, increase the oriental touch. The old man and his nargileh by the wall on the side of the busy street appear in this engraving as in countless oriental paintings of the period. To complete the picture are two British officers on their horses with one arm at their waist and the other holding the reins of their animal, being smartly saluted by a soldier of an Indian Regiment. In a colonial disposition, the artist places the British officer at safe distance from the dirty bazaar and crowd. The local people do not seem disturbed by the presence of foreigners, carrying on with their business regardless. The busy scene overshadows the irregularity of a Gothic church in an Oriental environment. The picture reflects once again the European love for the incongruous. This is more than can be said for a similar moment captured by Lieutenant G. H. Lane of the 101st Regiment for *The Graphic* magazine, of *A Bazaar at Larnaca*<sup>370</sup> (illus. no. 203) with the following text:

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<sup>368</sup> *Ibid* September 7, 1878, p. 228

<sup>369</sup> *Ibid* October 12, 1878, p. 350: There are references scattered in the articles to the presence of Europeans already established on the island. The artist met a certain Mr. Parkes in Hepta Khumi Village, and the name of Mr. Hamilton Lang (author of *Cyprus*) is mentioned. In the Carpas area, he met Mr. Dingli of Maltese descent.

<sup>370</sup> *The Graphic*, September 21, 1878, p. 284



*This bazaar or market place bears a strong resemblance to all places of similar character in eastern countries, being narrow, ill-paved and exceedingly dirty. As a protection from the intense heat of the sun, it is roofed with a coarse kind of matting, stretching from side to side at a height of about twelve feet. The goods on sale are not of the best description, and the most exorbitant prices are demanded, especially since the arrival of the British in the island. The picturesque costumes, the strange medley of nationalities, and the different types of humanity always to be met with in such places, make them favourite haunts of the artist. The filthy unsanitary conditions of Larnaca and of other towns of Cyprus will soon disappear now that Western energy and skill have taken the place of eastern lassitude and ignorance.<sup>371</sup>*

A dark picture, with an almost misty look about it (effected by the plethora of lines in the engraving), portraying a crowded bazaar where bodies are squeezed amongst the camels in the distance, represents the Cypriots in their humble surroundings. Dark looking natives wearing moustaches, covered Turkish women, Greek females with long plaited hair and kerchiefs on their heads, peddlers with their overloaded mules, half-naked barefoot negroes<sup>372</sup> and idle listeners resting with their head in their palms. Amongst them is the upright figure of the British officer in his white uniform and pith helmet haggling over prices with a shopkeeper, yet keeping his “whiteness” distinguishable from the rest of the dirty crowd.

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<sup>371</sup> *Ibid* p. 283

<sup>372</sup> Hepworth Dixon: British Cyprus, Chapman and Hall, London, 1879, pp. 6-8: *An Arab, bare and brown of black, a red fez hanging on his pate, a white rag twisted round his loins, is standing on a beach, watching some sailors haul out poles and planks from a shore-boat...Losh (the Arab) is a type of Cyprus in the act of passing from the Sultan to the Queen.* There was no discrimination, noticed by the travellers in their texts, against blacks. They lived in Cyprus brought over from Turkey or Egypt as soldiers, labourers, convicts or slaves. Slavery still existed in Cyprus in 1878. A case of a runaway negress slave who sought asylum in the French consulate and was granted her freedom by the court was recorded in *The Times* October 12, 1878, p.4e. Part of these settlers assimilated with the local population while a number of convicts were shipped to Turkey during the early years of British rule.

The attitudes of *The Graphic* ( a Liberal periodical) correspondent, are explicitly stated and his description is in direct contradiction to most of the descriptions of Cyprus in *The Illustrated London News*. In fact, *The Graphic* devoted less space to the introduction of the new acquisition for its readers and their correspondents gave less accurate descriptions, often even using the wrong toponyms. Their engravings were devoted mostly to the arrival of the troops and their camp sites while the topographical views of the country appeared more oriental. The articles emphasised the dangers of the climate and the existence of many Turkish convicts in Cyprus who had been sent there from all over the Ottoman dominions thus creating a problem for the British who were about to send them back. Anglo Turkish relations were, nevertheless, reputed to be very good as *The Illustrated London News* wrote on July 27, 1878:

*At Constantinople the greatest delight has been manifested by the Turks at the British occupation of Cyprus, and many Mohammedans, the Times correspondent tells us, have made up their minds to leave Stamboul and emigrate to the new English island under that Government which alone understands justice.*

One of the most interesting engravings published during that period was accompanied by the following title: *The Occupation of Cyprus: Greek priests blessing the British flag at Nicosia*<sup>373</sup> (illus. no. 204). On Sunday 18th August, crowds had gathered in front of the metochion (annex) of the Kykko monastery on the outskirts of the capital, to welcome the new rulers in an official ceremony organised by Greek priests. The British flag was hoisted in the presence of Sir Garnet Wolseley and his officers while being blessed by the Abbot of Kykko<sup>374</sup> and his attendants. A special ecclesiastical throne was placed at the disposal of the High Commissioner outside the church. The locals crowded the churchyard and the surrounding area. The Greeks were sincere in their gestures of welcome. They hailed the British occupation with joy and thanked God because they believed that the noble and generous English nation which liberated them from the Ottoman yoke would soon be leading them to union with Greece just as it had done with

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<sup>373</sup> *The Illustrated London News*: Sept. 21, 1878, p. 276

<sup>374</sup> Abbot of Kykko Sophronios the Second, 1861-1890



the Ionian Islands.<sup>375</sup> Being Europeans, Christians and rich, the British were expected to side with and respond to the call of the long-suffering Greek Cypriots for justice, equality and abolition of taxes.

Sir Garnet Wolseley had somewhat different feelings about the events of that Sunday. In fact these are obvious in the depiction of the British during the ceremony, who appear lounging about near the throne and seem to be giving little attention to what was going on; in his letter to his wife he writes:

*First we had Mass-such a mockery of everything sacred, dirty greasy priests attempting to intone some dreary dirges that were utterly devoid of music or melody...The whole ceremony was like a penny peep show very badly done by very inferior showmen...We all proceeded to the door of the church where on the steps there was more intoning and then at last the Abbot stepped forward and took the British Jack from the table where it had been lying while these incantations were being gone through and incense burnt over it. As if our flag required any purification- and opened and fastened it to the halliards and it was hauled up amidst loud "Zita"<sup>376</sup>(sic) from the ugly crowds. Cheers were given for the Queen and, the ceremony over, went back to breakfast<sup>377</sup>.*

The situation during those first months of the arrival of the British was confused. Orders were changed every day, military officials were asked to perform civil, administrative and even judicial duties and were often requested to take part in delicate diplomatic situations. Differences of political opinion in England as to the correctness of occupying Cyprus imposed certain strains on the reports coming from the island which had to be finely tuned to the policy of the Government. The positive aspects had to be emphasised and the negative ones subdued. Accordingly, while the accompanying illustrations portray a varied, overall perspective of Cyprus, which is interesting, informative, exotic

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<sup>375</sup> George Chacalli: Cyprus under British Rule, Phoni tis Kyprou, Nicosia, 1902, p. 42

<sup>376</sup> Zito: Long Live

<sup>377</sup> Anne Cavendish (ed.): Cyprus 1878, The Journal of Sir Garnet Wolseley, Cultural Centre of the Cyprus Popular Bank, Nicosia, 1991, pp. 51-52

and picturesque, at the same time one needs to be aware that the representations and articles may have been influenced by the factors discussed above, the political views that the various publications were promoting, and consequently their choice of representations. In whatever case, the fact remains that the military presence and the oriental aspect were indeed over emphasised.

The sketches of Cyprus from *The Illustrated London News* and *The Graphic* were subsequently borrowed and used for years by a number of other popular magazines and illustrated newspapers not only in Britain but also abroad.<sup>378</sup> Some new illustrations were added and the articles were often modified but the artistic quality and the views portrayed were more or less the same.

### *The men who ruled*

Some British officers kept journals of their stay in Cyprus and during their spare time painted in oils and watercolours for their pleasure. Lt. Colonel Benjamin Donisthorpe Alsop Donne<sup>379</sup> is a good example of such an amateur painter. He was born in 1856 in Somerset and educated at Wellington and Sandhurst. At the age of sixteen, while still studying at Sherborne School in Dorset, he started writing his journal. This helped him to develop and practise the skills of an observer and chronicler. Having joined the military service, Donisthorpe Donne arrived in Cyprus with his regiment, the Royal Sussex, in October 1880, and was made commandant of the Military Police for Limassol District. Whilst in Cyprus, he made a name for himself due to his persistency in hunting down a group of bandits who were active in the Limassol and Paphos districts. His published diary<sup>380</sup> contains some interesting illustrations of Cyprus. Donne

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<sup>378</sup> Frank Leslie's Popular Monthly, 1882, pp. 389-400

Le Monde Illustre, July - December, 1897.

Paul Augustin Farochon: Chypre et Levant, Firmin-Didot, Paris, 1894

<sup>379</sup> See appendix.

<sup>380</sup> Alan Harfield: The Life and Times of a Victorian Officer, Wincanton Press, Somerset, 1986



also wrote *Records of the Ottoman conquest of Cyprus*<sup>381</sup> for use by the newly arrived officers. This was the first English book to be printed on the island. He left Cyprus in 1882 for Egypt and died in England in 1907.

Reading through his journal, one can detect a man of discipline, well-educated and sociable. He had the qualities of an officer and a gentleman aspired to by the young soldiers of Victorian times. The Cyprus entries in his diary are detailed and present a careful account of all his activities, outlining his tours on the island and not allowing much personal feeling to slip into his text. As time went by though, Donne grew more fond of Cyprus and could not hide his admiration for its natural beauties, admitting with a quotation in his last entry that Cyprus was *Though lost to sight, to Memory dear*<sup>382</sup> He was particularly taken by the beautiful scenery of Kyrenia, which he kept revisiting:

*I have always considered it to be one of the finest panoramic views in Cyprus. The beautiful soft colouring of the hills with the azure sky above and intense blue of the sea at one's feet combine to produce a lovely effect. We scrambled about and explored our mountain eyries which indeed must have been a strong place in the days of King Richard of England who reduced it.* <sup>383</sup>

Whenever the visitor could not master the brush and palette, he resorted to painting a pretty picture in words; this is a frequent recurrence in the journals of the travellers and this is what Donne practised on March 23rd 1882, when he visited the village of Lefka:<sup>384</sup>

*The valley is filled with innumerable fruit trees, and the houses are almost hidden by the luxurious foliage that surrounds them. It is a great place for lemons. The little mosque*

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<sup>381</sup> Donisthorpe Donne: Records of the Ottoman Conquest of Cyprus with The Cyprus Guide and Directory, J. W. Williamson Press, Limassol, April 1885.

<sup>382</sup> Alan Harfield: The Life and Times of a Victorian Officer, September 4, 1882, p. 104

<sup>383</sup> *Ibid* p. 90

<sup>384</sup> A village situated in the north - western part of Cyprus, in a valley between the coast and the foothills of the Troodos mountains, inhabited predominantly by Turkish Cypriots.

*with its minaret, surrounded by fruit, olives and carob trees, makes a very pretty picture with the snowy tops of Troodos for a background*<sup>385</sup>.

Unfortunately no paintings of these scenes have been traced. A few rough sketches of other sites such as views of the Troodos mountains and Polemidia area,<sup>386</sup> the Limassol harbour and the Monastery of Bella Pais merit little artistic praise, topography not being Donne's strong point. However his artistic enthusiasm extended to military subjects, battle scenes, studies of ships and costumes. In these series, two watercolours refer to the famous hunt of Cypriot bandits led by Donne: one of approaching the cave where the bandits were hiding and another of the fight in a cave between the bandits and the zaptiehs,<sup>387</sup> both constituting evidence to historical events in December 1881.<sup>388</sup> More interesting though are his drawings of costumes and uniforms which also have historical connotations.

In his small watercolour of *a Greek peasant on the Limassol Works 1881*<sup>389</sup> (illus. no. 205), he took special care to paint each part of the costume correctly. Accordingly he wrote that the sash should be crimson and crimson should be put in the fez. The pantaloons should be black and the shirt-sleeves white. When this Greek peasant is then compared with his painting of *a Turkish Cypriot worker 1881*<sup>390</sup> (illus. no. 206) the differences are obvious and attest to the ethnic origins of the two characters. The Turkish workman wears a white pantaloons, a blue and white striped shirt and a multicoloured sash or belt. The Turks wore white *vraka* (pantaloons) and the Greeks

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<sup>385</sup> Alan Harfield: The Life and Times of a Victorian Officer, p. 92

<sup>386</sup> An area outside the town of Limassol towards the Troodos mountain range where the British established their military headquarters for the Limassol district.

<sup>387</sup> The name used for members of the old Turkish Police force. The British incorporated the zaptiehs into the Cyprus Military Police Force.

<sup>388</sup> Rolandos Katsiaounis: Labour, Society and Politics in Cyprus during the second half of the nineteenth century, The Cyprus Research Centre, Imprinta Ltd., Nicosia, 1996, pp. 149-159

<sup>389</sup> Private collection, Nicosia, Cyprus.

<sup>390</sup> Private collection, Nicosia, Cyprus.



black or blue.<sup>391</sup> Two paintings portraying members of the Cyprus Pioneer Regiment of 1881, illustrate British political attitudes since upon occupying Cyprus, the British initially relied primarily on the Turkish element of the island (after all they had taken over from the Ottoman government) which supplied most of the recruits for the Pioneer Regiment.<sup>392</sup> the Greeks constituted one third and the Turks two thirds of the force.<sup>393</sup> In the first of Donne's paintings referred to above, (illus. no. 207) the character is named by the painter as Ibrahim Mustafa (Turkish name) while in the second painting, which portrays two men, (illus. no. 208) Ibrahim Mustafa is in the company of a black man of the same rank (denoted by the insignia on their sleeves).

The disappointing fact transpiring from Donne's journal is that this young officer, of a dashing temperament and wide interests made no sincere attempt to truly understand the people of the land. Throughout his stay in Cyprus he carefully guarded the distance between him and the subservient locals, holding on to his position as a member of the ruling class. Imperialist commentary recurs in his journal. His entry of April 22, 1881, (while visiting the village of Dali) is such:

*In the village great matrimonial preparations were going forward; the belle of the village was about to be given in marriage and it was amusing to watch all the buxom females of the place, Turk and Greek alike, busily beating up the nuptial bed to the sound of dance music. It was a curious Levantine scene. As I desired to see the bride, she was in due course brought forth and presented to me, and, indeed, for a Cypriot woman very good looking in truth she was.* 394

More comments are of the same nature:

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<sup>391</sup> Efrosyni Rizopoulou Egoumenidou: The Urban Costumes of Cyprus in the 18th and 19th centuries, pp. 80-86

<sup>392</sup> Otherwise known as the Cyprus Police and Pioneer Corps, formed by the British under the Ordinance of 1879.

<sup>393</sup> George Georghallides: A Political and administrative History of Cyprus, p. 78.

<sup>394</sup> Alan Harfield: The Life and Times of a Victorian Officer, pp. 94-95

*After riding down a steep and difficult gorge we reached Kalapaniotissa<sup>395</sup> one of the largest and certainly the most curious villages I had seen. The houses were built in tiers in the side of the hill, one above the other, and one had to ride over the flat mud roofs to reach beyond. This is likewise a Greek colony and we lunched at the little “Jack of all trades” shop.<sup>396</sup>*

*A man having stabbed another at Ay. Vasili<sup>397</sup> we had an exciting chase after him but he had too good a start of us to come up with him, so I secured his house with a zaptieh guard, as well as some weapons we found in his house. One was a fine long yataghan which I annexed, as also a remarkable old blunderbuss bearing the date 1765 with a muzzle as big as a railway bell.<sup>398</sup>*

Donne felt that his position gave him the right to demand and be served: in his role of “the master” he desired the bride brought to him showing total disrespect for the customs of the village- courteous behaviour would have been to pay a visit to the bride and wish her well. His comment on the bride’s beauty presupposes that Cypriot females were ugly and when judged leniency should be applied! Furthermore, calling a Greek village a “Greek colony” creates the impression that the Greeks were settlers in an island belonging to others, which is hardly the case. Does this statement indicate Donne’s preference for presenting the island as traditionally Turkish and then British and to his effort of diminishing the role of the Greek community? Finally, again in his role of the master, he feels entitled to take two valuable antique items from the chased man’s house, certainly not for the purpose of being used as evidence. However, colonial attitudes left no room for such considerations.

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<sup>395</sup> The village of Kalopanayiotis, is in the mountainous district of Marathassa, which was traditionally inhabited by Greek Cypriots. See George Georghallides: A Political and Administrative History of Cyprus, pp. 52-53.

<sup>396</sup> Alan Harfield: The Life and Times of a Victorian Officer, March 24, 1882, p. 93

<sup>397</sup> The village of Ayios Vasilios in Nicosia district.

<sup>398</sup> Alan Harfield: The Life and Times of a Victorian Officer, May 20, 1882, p. 101



Another British officer, Colonel Hugh Montgomerie Sinclair,<sup>399</sup> of the Royal Engineers, came to Cyprus in 1878 and remained on the island till 1886. Upon arrival he was made District Engineer of Larnaca and in 1880 was appointed Private Secretary to the High Commissioner Sir Robert Biddulph.

A keen horseman, Sinclair loved horse-races and was known for his fine stable which in the Nicosia Agricultural Show of 1884 won him both first and second prizes for foreign horses.<sup>400</sup> His knowledge of classical Greek helped him to learn Modern Greek and enhanced his interest in archaeology; he participated in a number of excavations having befriended the German scholar and archaeologist Max Ohnefalsch Richter. By 1883 Sinclair succeeded Lt. Kitchener as Honorary Secretary of the Cyprus Museum.<sup>401</sup> Painting came down through generations in the Sinclair family and when "Lady Place" in Sutton Courtenay (the home of the Sinclairs) was sold by auction in October 1990,<sup>402</sup> some lots containing paintings by Hugh Montgomerie Sinclair were amongst the contents of the house. Cyprus featured in a number of these paintings as well as in his book "Camp and Society"<sup>403</sup> where there are some interesting accounts of the Colonel's experiences and literary abilities:

*The deep wine-coloured sea, of that sparkling purple-blue amethyst which only the Mediterranean holds the secret, was surrounded by a wide semi-circle of low pale yellow hills-almost white in places as if snow had fallen on them. Behind these rose on the left one conical purple mountain and more distant still, some deep blue peaks. On the right another blue wall of deeply serrated heights with pink scars upon them. No trace of green field or form was anywhere visible except in the central foreground, where some rows of waving palms and dark-green foliage showed up the white walls,*

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<sup>399</sup> See Appendix

<sup>400</sup> Cyprus Herald, 27 October 1884.

<sup>401</sup> *Ibid* 29 January, 1883

<sup>402</sup> Phillips, Oxford: The contents of Lady Place, Sutton Courtenay, October 10, 1990, lots 242-258.

<sup>403</sup> Colonel Hugh M. Sinclair: Camp and Society, Chapman and Hall Ltd., London, 1926, pp. 66-79.

*red roofs and tapering spires and minarets of the small town of Larnaca clustering on the seashore. Such was my first impression of Cyprus. 404*

Deep sensitivity dominates Sinclair's paintings, and a certain preference for religious monuments. He painted the Cathedral of Famagusta, St. Sophia, Bellapais, the church of St. Varvara, the metochion of the monastery of the Holy Cross, the church of St. Synesios in Rizokarpasso<sup>405</sup> (illus. nos. 209-211) and the Mosque of Um Haraam by the Salt Lake in Larnaca (illus. no. 212). His topographical views included small villages, the Troodos mountains and the northern coast of Cyprus. His colours are subtle and soft, using light blue, pale green and yellow. The monuments are well defined, surrounded by vegetation. The artist painted his scenes from a calculated distance which allowed the edifices to be the focal point but not to overwhelm the picture; instead they appear sunk in an inviting landscape which is given equal attention. A sense of serenity is successfully achieved aided in most cases by the absence of any kind of activity. The subtlety of colours and the peacefulness of the picture in combination with the religious monument produce a pious effect. There is clarity and light giving the impression that the watercolours were all executed in the summer months by a very calm and romantic artist.

Although a sensitive painter, Sinclair was a professional army officer and his writings bear out the toughness of his mental and physical discipline. The following episode that took place during his early days in Cyprus is a good example. Sinclair was asked to supervise the unloading of Government House<sup>406</sup> from the ships of the fleet anchored at Larnaca port, and take all necessary measures for its safeguard and transfer to Nicosia. Local labourers were employed to execute the work. On Sunday the men refused to

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<sup>404</sup> *Ibid* pp. 67-68

<sup>405</sup> Rupert Gunnis: Historic Cyprus, p. 410: *The principal church of the village is dedicated to St. Synesios, one of the early bishops and was during the Middle Ages the cathedral of the Orthodox See. The village of Rizokarpasso lies in the Carpas peninsula.*

<sup>406</sup> Colonel Hugh M. Sinclair: Camp and Society p. 70: *She had brought out the whole construction for Government House, a huge wooden structure, every part of which from foundations to the felt roof had been prepared and packed in England.*



work unless they were paid overtime. Sinclair was pressed for time and had no extra money to pay:

*I told my interpreter to find the ringleaders and bring them to my office..... I had a stout malacca cane in my hand. The men, some half-dozen, were brought up in full sight of the gang. I asked the first, a great stalwart peasant with a fierce moustache and truculent air, if he would go on working. "Ochi" (no) he replied. I suddenly seized him by the collar, bent him down with all my strength and administered cuts with my cane on the softest part of his person till he roared out that he would work. I called up the second, a hulking Mohammedan, with my cane at the "carry." He would not reply so again I administered personal chastisement, till he too, gave in. The others needed no conversion and the victory was won. 407*

However, unlike Donne, Sinclair approached and befriended some locals. He chose to rent rooms in a house lived in by the owners and requested to have his meals with them so as to practice his Greek. He made great friends with the two custodians of the Tekke in Larnaca but his arrogance and self confidence did not allow him to listen to the advice of these simple people. Contrary to their pleas he insisted on taking his horse to a certain stable as a result of which both he and the horse became infested by myriads of fleas. Prejudiced by his own assumptions that the locals were ignorant and could not have known better than him, once again he learned the hard way: while supervising works near the Tekke of Um Haraam, he was amazed that the workmen preferred to walk miles every night back to their villages rather than spend the night in the tents he had provided. In his effort to prove their stupidity he slept himself in a tent only to be victimised once again by the fleas that came out of the sandy earth at night and to realise the wisdom in the workmen's decision!

A third amateur artist was Captain Reginald Barrows Rudyerd who made a number of illustrations in 1888. His artistic interests were even more varied than those of his fellow officers examined before; while enjoying topography, he included military and

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<sup>407</sup> *Ibid* pp. 70-71

ethnographic depictions amongst his works. His talent is of no higher standard than that of Donne's but a large part of his illustrations depict the mountainous regions of Cyprus and the villages of that area before these were transformed into tourist resorts in the twentieth century.

The British army had lost no time in discovering the wonderful climate of the Troodos mountains and the escape they offered from the heat of the plains and the fevers of the towns during the summer months. In 1879 roads were constructed leading from Limassol to Platres and Troodos thus facilitating communications.<sup>408</sup> Later a summer residence was built in Troodos for the High Commissioner<sup>409</sup> which resulted in the Government moving in that area for the summer months, while various regiments took turns camping in Troodos in tents under the old pine trees. One of Rudyard's watercolours depicts the camp of the 1st York Regiment (illus. no. 213), while another picture is a close up of the artist's tent with himself sitting in front of it sketching away (illus. no. 214). The white tents gleam under the bright sun. Military discipline is reflected in the meticulous arrangements of pathways delineated by large stones, and the placement of the tents in perfect rows. Soldiers are busy organizing their camp, while the Captain is being given his second pair of boots. Even in Troodos it was felt necessary to protect one's self from the sun, thus the artist is wearing a wide-brim hat during his hour of relaxation. The area is covered with a particular type of pine-tree (*pinus negra*) growing on the Troodos mountains that can easily be distinguished by the slope of its branches and its almost flat top. In another watercolour view from a mountaintop out over the Troodos towards the sea in the distance (illus. no. 215), one can sense the attraction of the space and atmosphere that the new arrivals appreciated in this part of Cyprus.

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<sup>408</sup> Anne Cavendish (ed.): Cyprus 1878, The Journal of Sir Garnet Wolseley: p. 166

<sup>409</sup> Kenneth Schaar, Michael Given, George Theocharous: Under the Clock, Bank of Cyprus Publications, Nicosia, 1995, p. 019: *In 1881 the High Commissioner's summer residence on Troodos was constructed. It was called "Government House" until 1886 when it became known as "Government Cottage"...The construction was supervised by the French poet Arthur Rimbaud, though a later resident, Sir Ronald Storrs commented that Rimbaud "proved to be a better poet than architect-entrepreneur."*



While traversing the mountains, the visitors were struck by the architecture of the villages that differed from that in the plains. Mrs. Esme Scott-Stevenson, the wife of the Commissioner of Kyrenia gave a good description in her book<sup>410</sup> of the village houses of Kambos:<sup>411</sup>

*The houses are so closely built together that a mule can barely pass. It seemed doubtful if our horses could do so, and the roofs came so low that I had to lie forward on my saddle to prevent being swept off. The roofs overhang the walls some two feet and are composed of brushwood, laid layer and layer on sticks and made waterproof with a coating of mud. In places they almost meet, forming a complete shelter from the sun.*<sup>412</sup>

Looking at the watercolour titled *Platris* (Platres), (illus. no.216) Mrs. Scott-Stevenson's words come to life. The artist presents a village in earthen shades of brown and rustic red which accentuate the poverty and meagre means of the people. The picture includes ethnographic points: the earthen oven, the huge storing pot of red clay at the entrance of a house and the washing line on the roof of another. A hard working woman is bent over in her effort to store some goods in a pot under the watchful eye of her idle looking husband; children are playing in front of the house. Although this is a complex of houses, it appears as if they are part of one big building of different levels. This is exactly Mrs. Scott-Stevenson's point regarding the lanes within the village. The *idle* male of Cyprus was observed by the artist who also portrayed him sitting by the wayside pondering over the landscape (illus. no. 217) or at his favourite place the *cafenion* (coffee-shop): men sitting around a small table on rickety chairs, made locally from the arbutus bush, drinking away the local wine or *zivania*,<sup>413</sup> discussing trivialities and without fail the latest taxation, seem to have been impressed in the memory of most visitors, the artist being no exception (illus. no. 218). The positions of the figures, an arm hanging over the back of the chair, another resting on the knees, a nargileh placed

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<sup>410</sup> Mrs. Esme Scott-Stevenson: Our Home in Cyprus, Chapman and Hall Ltd., London, 1880

<sup>411</sup> The village of Kambos lies very near the Monastery of Kykko in the Troodos mountains.

<sup>412</sup> Mrs. Esme Scott-Stevenson: Our Home in Cyprus , p. 178

<sup>413</sup> A local drink of high alcohol content made from distilled grapes, similar to schnapps.

on the floor, a jug of wine and a glass bottle on the table in front of a figure holding some playing cards, conclude a picture of the Cypriots in their local costumes and at their favourite pastime.

In direct contrast to the above, the women are always portrayed busy at work: in *Kikopetria* (Kakopetria) a Turkish woman, in her long white robes is sitting in a secluded lane outside her house, obviously to take advantage of better air and light, spinning wool (illus. no. 219). A tall ladder is placed next to her against the wall leading to the roof of the house which seemed to serve as extra utility space. One hand is dexterously handling the spindle, the other is holding the spinning wheel while her outstretched leg is pressing the pedal. There is work in progress in her movements and posture; her head is held up concentrated on her task. These different roles attributed to the Cypriot male and female are in accordance with their social and family structure as understood by the visitors: the women appeared to be the workers of the family and often a stronger and more enduring species than the men: *Although it was a holiday, and the men were lazily standing about, or amusing themselves, the women, who seem very industrious, remained indoors, spinning or weaving rushes into baskets or flat trays.*<sup>414</sup>

*One woman was pointed out to me as an object of admiration. She had gone up the mountains to gather wood, when suddenly she found herself a mother. The little offspring was fastened on the bundle of sticks, hoisted on her back and she walked home, about three miles, quite unconcernedly! I quote this as a hardihood of the peasantry. I believe they never suffer from any ailment except old age.*<sup>415</sup>

It therefore transpires that a new theme is unfolding through the texts and the pictures of the travellers during this period: the role of gender within the small societies of the island. The Greek men are found to be *idle*, while the women bear the burden of the breadwinners.

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<sup>414</sup> Mrs. Esme Scott-Stevenson: Our Home in Cyprus, p.168

<sup>415</sup> *Ibid* p. 179



The artist's visit to Kakopetria gave him the chance to paint another style of architecture common in villages within that particular area, giving a different impression of Cyprus (illus. no. 220) with many two or three- storied houses with sloping red-tiled roofs that appear like a small Swiss village. Three-storey houses are depicted for the first time in the illustrations and within the context of portraying mountain villages; they did exist by the end of the nineteenth century in the towns but belonging exclusively to the *elite*. These are surrounded by high mountain peaks, clustered together defying the cold, having small windows and narrow wooden balconies. Often the third storey was actually a spacious loft that was used as sleeping quarters since the animals were kept on the ground floor.

Two more watercolours by Rudyard of the monasteries of Khiko<sup>416</sup> (Kykkos)(illus. no. 221) and Trooditissa<sup>417</sup>(illus. no. 222) in the Troodos mountains, completely devoid of the exotic and oriental, could be mistaken as scenery from anywhere in central Europe. Once again, red-tiled sloping roofs, used in this region for protection against the snow, rise amongst lush vegetation; Kykkos monastery, painted from a lower standpoint, appears grander and more important while Trooditissa is painted secluded in a narrow valley amongst the mountains. The light in the sky has gray overtones, though these do not shadow or disturb the serenity of the spot. The picturesqueness of the position of this monastery has made it famous *as a place of Switzerland under a Syrian sky*.<sup>418</sup> Sir Samuel Baker, who lived in this *moral harbour from the uncertain seas of busy life*<sup>419</sup> for almost four months lends words to Rudyard's picture:

*The monastery of Trooditissa had no architectural pretensions; it looked like a family of English barns that had been crossed with a Swiss chalet. The roofs of six separate buildings of considerable dimensions were arranged to form a quadrangle, which included the chapel, a long building at right angles with the quadrangle, which had an*

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<sup>416</sup> The monastery of Kykkos remained always the largest and richest monastery of Cyprus.

<sup>417</sup> Built in the eighteenth century, it lies between Platres and Troodos.

<sup>418</sup> Mrs. Esme Scott-Stevenson: Our Home in Cyprus , p. 181

<sup>419</sup> Sir Samuel White Baker: Cyprus as I saw it, Macmillan and Co, London, 1879, p. 454

*upper balcony beneath the roof, so as to form a covered protection to a similar arrangement below...these were obscure galleries, from which doors led to each separate apartment, occupied by the monks and the fleas. The obscurity may appear strange, as the balconies were on the outside, but the eaves of the roof at an angle of about 48° projected some feet as a protection from the winter's snow and occasioned a darkness added to the gloom of bluish grey gneiss which formed the walls and the deep brownish red of the tiled roof.*<sup>420</sup>

Captain Rudyerd never stopped painting. From the mountains to the towns to the sea where he illustrated the fishing boats at the harbour of Famagusta emphasizing the design of an eye on the side of the boat (illus. no. 223). The *eye*, according to Cypriot tradition is to protect from evil, so it is called the *evil eye*. Fishermen design it on boats, children and pretty girls wear it as a charm.

### *In the Cyprus civil service*

William Williams,<sup>421</sup> a young architect from Winchester spend forty one years of his life in the Cyprus service. He started in 1878 as clerk for the Inspector of Waterworks in Limassol; posted for twelve years to the Public Works Department in Nicosia where he begun as a draughtsman, he rose to the position of Acting Director twice, Assistant to the Director, First Divisional Engineer but never realised his dream of becoming Director of the Public Works.<sup>422</sup> He was a quiet and shy draftsman whose work often suffered from the financial cut-backs of the Government. Most of his designs were either modified in order to be in line with the scrutinised budget or put aside for better days. But Williams loved his work and was never disheartened. His hobbies were cricket and painting. One of his watercolours<sup>423</sup> is presently hanging in the Dragoman's

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<sup>420</sup> *Ibid* p. 309

<sup>421</sup> See appendix.

<sup>422</sup> Kenneth Schaar, Michael Given, George Theocharous: Under the Clock, p. 047

<sup>423</sup> From the collection of the Cyprus Archaeological Museum



house in Nicosia (illus. no. 224). The picture carries with it a long controversial story and is appropriately titled *The Konak*. Williams painted the picture in 1887 well aware that the beautiful building he was depicting would not be there for long. The Konak was originally a Lusignan palace, which was then used by the Venetians as the Palazzo di Governo (the Governor's Palace); after 1571 it became the Serai (Palace) of the Turkish Governor of the island. The building was associated with tragic events throughout its history. The Venetian Governor and his notables were killed there by the Turks in 1570; in 1794 the floor of the Serai "collapsed" killing the Orthodox leaders gathered there by orders of Governor Osman Aga, while in 1821 the Greek Cypriot Archbishop and Cypriot prelates were hung in front of the Serai. With the arrival of the British a gallows was set up in the courtyard of the building and executions took place there since it was in close proximity to the central prison.<sup>424</sup> By 1886 the building was in a dilapidated state and discussions started as to its demolition. A controversy was unfolding amongst the British authorities as to whether Antiquity should be sacrificed to Art; whether the Konak should be restored to its former glory, a proposition requiring generous funding, or whether it should be demolished and replaced by a modern building, in which case the main architectural features of the Konak would be preserved intact in the Museum.

Positioned on the covered verandah of a Turkish house opposite the gateway of the Konak, Williams depicted it in the far end of his picture in faint colours as if already succumbing to its fate. The wooden balustrade of the verandah is painted in a stronger colour but not interfering with the projection of the flamboyant Catalan window of the Konak, nor its Gothic gateway surmounted by the Lion of St. Mark. The house in the foreground is of the Ottoman period built with the use of ample woodwork and having the typical flagstone flooring; a zaptieh with his gun is hanging over the balustrade gazing at the courtyard having almost forgotten his guard duties. The amalgamation of the Ottoman and Gothic elements in conjunction with the old trees scattered in the courtyard, drawn with an almost iridescent delicacy, show the extent to which the character of the place survived in spite of all that had happened over the years. The artist employed his architectural skills and precision to achieve this effect. Ironically, William

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<sup>424</sup> George Jeffery: A Description of the Historic Monuments of Cyprus, p. 26

Williams was called upon to prepare a scheme for the new Konak in Nicosia and on June 14 1900, the foundation stone of the new building was laid with a grand official ceremony. Four years later the new administration building was housing the offices of the District Commissioner, the Land Registry and the Law Courts.<sup>425</sup>

### *Being one of them*

William H. Hawkins,<sup>426</sup> born in 1845, was the son of William Hawkins, an upholsterer of Great Berkhamstead, Hertfordshire. At the age of fourteen he was taken as an apprentice at the printing works of William Cooper; his training proved valuable, securing him his first job in Cyprus in 1878 when he was appointed superintendent of the Government Printing Office. Hawkins enjoyed living in Cyprus and in the later years of the 1890s he proved himself a daring young man by marrying a Cypriot girl, Christina Mavrommatis. Mixed marriages were not approved of either by the British nor particularly by the Cypriots. In 1901 Christina gave birth to their only child Bertha. Hawkins had a drinking problem for which he was often reprimanded by the Colonial Government but his strong connections in England helped him keep his position and extended his stay on the island for many years. Finally, in 1902, he was transferred to the U.K. “due to ill health” where he died March 5th 1904, at Sherborne. His widow and daughter became destitute in England and applied to the British Government for help to return to Cyprus. Their request being granted, the two ladies made their way back to Christina’s family.<sup>427</sup>

Hawkins was an adventurer and a *bon viveur*. He enjoyed riding, hunting and partying. He had a vivacious disposition and made friends very easily; there was a romantic side

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<sup>425</sup>Kenneth Schaar, Michael Given, George Theocharous: Under the Clock,, p. 34

<sup>426</sup> See appendix.

<sup>427</sup> I am grateful to the descendants of Mrs. Hawkins, Dr. and Mrs. N. Persianis, for supplying me with the information about W. H. Hawkins, and for allowing me to see his paintings.



to his character that was expressed in his piano playing, his poetry- writing and his painting. He loved to set off with his palette and brushes and spent time transferring onto canvas his favourite spots of the Cypriot landscape. He would then send his paintings as gifts to his compatriots and friends in England; a letter dated 28 March 1881 from Buckingham Palace thanks Hawkins for his verses to the Queen.<sup>428</sup> He never exhibited or sold any of his works, simply feeling satisfied that through them his friends could share his admiration and love for Cyprus.

There is an inherent simplicity in Hawkins paintings which renders them understandable even though they present distant and unfamiliar landscapes. He painted in oils on board mostly the Gothic monuments of the island. However, the artist brings out a different dimension: that of the light at its best moments of sunset and dusk, when the atmosphere is cleared from the heat of the day and the colours of the land allow a romantic interplay of shadows, reality and imagination. The Cathedral of St. Nicolas of Famagusta (illus. no. 225) dominates the town in the lone company of some palm-trees. Not a soul is present; everything appears still as darkness approaches the city and identifies it with childhood dreams of fairyland. Shades of colour and shadows create the atmosphere in Hawkins' view of Troodos (illus. no. 226) where the trees are his main theme. The light brown earth colour in the foreground develops into dark shadows over the hills only to contrast with the strong blue of the sky brightened by the silver light of a full moon. The trees, scattered over the picture, appear like actors on a stage.

One of Hawkins' most interesting paintings is an elongated picture of a fire in a village (illus. no. 227). At the far distance in the horizon rages a fire. Black clouds separate the orange flames from the serene rays of the setting sun. The village is almost completely hidden from view by the awesome event apart from one or two houses on the outskirts amongst some sheep-pens. An expanse of empty land stands between the fire and a number of figures in the foreground who have their backs to the viewer. Standing at a safe distance they watch the conflagration unfolding; the men wear long colourful robes

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<sup>428</sup> General Sir Henry F. Ponsonby to W. H. Hawkins, 28 March 1881; letter in the possession of Mrs. Peristiani (descendant of Christina Hawkins) of Nicosia.

and Ottoman headdresses, amongst them a dervish<sup>429</sup> with his tall conical hat and his white coat, while two hanoums are wrapped in striped cloth from head to toe. Their clothes attest to their high rank. A Greek woman in the company of two Greek men is seated on the ground with a basket in the middle, pausing from work, oblivious to what is going on. Although there is not much artistic merit in their portrayal, the message comes through. Tired from a hard day's work, they have sat down to a frugal meal; the woman rests her arms on her knees, her body bent with fatigue, her legs motionless in heavy black boots. The men wear the *fesi*, which distinguishes them from the Turks who wear the turban. They have no strength left to stand and watch. Hawkins has managed to combine a range of information about the island in a simple illustration: he represented the two main ethnic groups in Cyprus, the status of each one, their reactions and religious sects within an extensive landscape. There are absolutely no indications of the British presence in Hawkins' works. The artist does not follow the example of most of his compatriots; he identifies with the local population refusing to include any *foreign* elements in his pictures insisting on their purity, and observing objectively unaffected by political prejudices or directives.

### *Domesticating the landscape*

Ladies, daughters of servicemen, wives of military personnel, proud of the new acquisition also made watercolours as souvenirs of their stay in Cyprus. While the British men touched upon a variety of themes, the women, to begin with, occupied themselves with domesticated landscape painting. Ann Villiers,<sup>430</sup> daughter of Governor W. F. Haynes-Smith (1897-1904) stayed at Government House with her father. She made some romantic watercolours of Nicosia and Troodos. In her painting of Government House (illus. no. 228), one can see part of the original Government building brought in 1878 from England to house Sir Garnet Wolseley; it was entirely

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<sup>429</sup> The Moslem sects of the Naqshibendi and Melveli dervishes (Whirling and Howling dervishes) had their own tekkes in Cyprus; the Kirkklar Tekke, on the road from Larnaca to Nicosia is believed to be almost 300 years old. See Sir Harry Luke: *Cyprus, a Portrait and an Appreciation*, pp. 146-150. Also George Jeffery: *A Description of the Historic Monuments of Cyprus*, p. 183

<sup>430</sup> See appendix.



unsuitable, made out of wood. The artist, with female delicacy and in true British tradition, gave due attention to the garden which was admired for its orderly shape and collection of flowers (illus. no. 229) specially imported from England. Most of her watercolours were of the environs of her residence or of the landscape surrounding the place. There are no figures depicted, nor any details of characteristics of the country. Villiers confined herself to what she felt closer to and more comfortable with, painted in tones and with a palette that would not have looked out of place in a British summer scene.

Government House in Troodos was a modest, compact stone building, with a tiled roof and a small garden, looking like a cottage from the British countryside. This “cottage scene” was painted by Ann Villiers and inscribed *Government House, Troodos 1898* (illus. no. 230). Once again the pine trees of Troodos frame the picture while their strong green colour and the red of the cottage roof add to the crispness of the atmosphere. This exceptionally beautiful spot in the mountains was painted repeatedly by many amateur and professional artists with little variations. William Collyer<sup>431</sup> in 1886, included the British flag in his picture (illus. no. 231), proudly denoting the British presence which had started having its effects on Cyprus with the first appearances of colonial architecture and orderly adjustments of the area surrounding the new buildings. The attempt to graft one culture upon the other persisted as far as architecture is concerned, well into the twentieth century. It may have succeeded to a point when in an appropriate environment, such as the green and coolness of the mountains, but more often than not it produces odd anomalies, as was the case with the wooden Government residence in Nicosia.

### *Free from political bias?*

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<sup>431</sup> See appendix.

Two professional artists painted scenes from Cyprus that were reproduced as etchings in folio form or as illustrations in books. One of them was Tristram Ellis.<sup>432</sup> He was born in 1844, at Great Malvern and died in 1922. He studied art in Paris, travelled to the Middle East in 1878 and 1896, to Syria in 1880, Norway in 1893, and to Russia in 1898. Primarily a book illustrator, he published *On a raft and through the Desert* in 1881 and *Twelve etchings of the Principal views and places of interest in Cyprus with a descriptive account of each plate*<sup>433</sup> in 1879. Tristram Ellis came to Cyprus on the ship *Laconia* from Liverpool in early September 1878, after a journey of twenty days, with the aim of portraying the new British acquisition to the British public. He painted some eighty views which were exhibited the following year at the Belgian Gallery, London. In a short preface to his book he writes that

*The Island had then but very recently changed its nationality, and a few people who knew a little about it, and a great many who knew nothing at all, combined to give us the most cheerless accounts of its situation, climate, commercial importance and political future. In fact, a century which had given the world much novelty, produced, like other centuries before it, the familiar race of foreboders and prophets of evil. My one object was merely to seek a fresh scene and transfer to canvas, free of political bias, the first impressions of a country which had suddenly become a part of British territory, and a centre of British interest.* <sup>434</sup>

Aware of the political dispute over the occupation of Cyprus he tried to set himself apart from those he felt were politically biased, indirectly admitting that Cyprus had been portrayed by others from their own points of view. He believed that an artist should be above this and should focus only on personal observations and experiences. His comment though, concerning *foreboders and prophets of evil*, admits to his personal

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<sup>432</sup> See appendix.

<sup>433</sup> Tristram Ellis: Twelve Etchings of the Principal Views & Places of Interest in Cyprus, Gammon & Vaughan, London, 1879

<sup>434</sup> *Ibid* last page



disposition and places him immediately in the opposite political camp. When he landed in Cyprus, Ellis carried with him some preconceived ideas concerning the island:

*I passed through much uninteresting country during the first few days of my tour, finding (as most travellers do) that all my pre-conceived notions were strangely blundering and wide of the mark. Larnaca for instance where I landed was as busy as any Eastern sea-port could be. All nationalities jostled on its crowded Marina. Here the commerce of the country seemed for the moment to be concentrated.*<sup>435</sup>

He must have expected Larnaca to be a sleepy desolate port frequented by a few natives basking in the sun waiting for the next ship to anchor. Instead, during the British takeover, the town appeared more cosmopolitan than ever before; in addition to the consulates, the European trading companies, and missionary delegations that gave a colourful European flavour to the place, commerce<sup>436</sup> (mostly in the hands of the Greek Cypriots) was developing, bringing the country closer to the West. Yet, looking at Tristram Ellis' watercolour titled *At the Marina, Larnaca, 1878*<sup>437</sup> (the part of the town built around the port was better known as Scala, while the rest of the town was built at a distance of approximately 1/2 to 1 mile from the port), one receives the distinct feeling of a totally Middle Eastern port. This could be a moment in time at any small port of Asia Minor, Egypt or Syria. What makes this painting interesting are the carefully chosen details that are included and others deliberately omitted, which have the ultimate purpose of consciously rendering it an Oriental picture (illus. no. 232). To begin with, the costumes are Ottoman and exotic, which in fact presented only half the truth. There is no doubt that such costumes were to be seen all over Cyprus and in the countryside for many years to come, but by the end of the nineteenth century Larnaca was westernised to the degree that at least part of its urban population appeared in western

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<sup>435</sup> *Ibid* p. xiii

<sup>436</sup> R. Hamilton Lang: Cyprus, its History, its Present and Future Prospects, Macmillan and Co. London, 1878, p. 28: *Larnaca is still the most important centre of commerce in the island and the residence of the Consular body*

<sup>437</sup> Private collection, Nicosia

clothes.<sup>438</sup> There is no female presence on the seafront, even if it appears to be a busy market day. The only woman is seated at her window high above the road, at a safe distance from the men. She is wearing white robes of the Moslem tradition even though her face is not covered and she is seated in front of a wide open window. Perhaps this is an indication to the relaxation of even the Islamic rules pertaining to women's attire. The Greek urban women of Larnaca though were following the European dress mode. In fact Mrs. Esme Scott-Stevenson wrote in 1879 that *shops full of European goods have taken the place of the old bazaars; and one sees more people in English than Greek costume*,<sup>439</sup> while photographs of the period show young girls and children dressed in Victorian clothes.<sup>440</sup> There are a few foreigners amongst the crowd, signifying the British presence on the island. The figure on the left of the sheep, in a white shirt, straw hat and brown trousers tucked into his boots, wearing a large moustache and a small pointed beard could be English or possibly Maltese.<sup>441</sup> Ellis mentions the presence of Maltese workers on the Island: *sometimes a man falls into the sea, which luckily is not more than six feet deep at the pier head. If he is a Maltese he swims like a fish, and the equanimity of the public is not disturbed*. But the figure, outlined at the centre of the furthest archway is undoubtedly that of a British soldier in his white trousers, red jacket and white pith-helmet. The artist wanted to discreetly remind his public that the island was a British possession. In the foreground large clay pots, used for storing drinking water or olive oil, geese, goats and sheep brought for sale to the market and wooden jetties hosting waterside cafes enhance the "oriental" atmosphere. This is all staged against a series of houses of local architecture of which the focal point is a two-storey house which has as its main feature the kiosk, a kind of enclosed projecting upper-storey verandah, typical of Turkish architecture. The overhanging woven matting emphasises the extreme heat and accentuates the need for protection from the strong

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<sup>438</sup> John Thomson: Through Cyprus with a camera in the Autumn of 1878, Trigraph, London, 1985, p.1, pl. 1: Thomson took a photograph of the exact same place that Ellis painted and in the photo three men appear wearing western costumes.

<sup>439</sup> Esme Scott-Stevenson: Our Home in Cyprus, p. 9

<sup>440</sup> Agnes Michaelides: Larnaca, the old Scala, Zavallis Press, Nicosia, 1974, p. 64-65: there is a photograph of the pupils of the Terra Sancta School, 1880.

<sup>441</sup> George Georghallides: A Political and Administrative History of Cyprus, p. 39.



sun. Perhaps the only indisputable clue in the painting signifying that this is Cyprus are the pointed arches of the buildings which appear all over the Island and are remnants of a mixture of the local Gothic and Byzantine architecture adopted by many buildings in Cyprus.

Most of the twelve etchings of Cyprus present an oriental atmosphere which is captured with sensitivity and deliberation. Minarets are present in every picture, the exotic comes through the few portrayals of people. The denser rendering of monuments, as in the case of the cathedral of St. Nicolas or of the ruins of Famagusta, does not allow much identification as to the architectural style of the buildings but the outlines in conjunction with the surrounding landscape make for a picturesque effect. The original watercolour of his etching titled *The Marina Larnaca from the Konak Pier* <sup>442</sup> (illus. no. 233), is an oblong picture presenting an elongated view of the Larnaca shore extending vertical across the depth of the watercolour towards the horizon. It affords a detailed depiction of the old houses on the pier splashed by the surf from the sea. The artistic abilities of Ellis have perfectly expressed the water and waves in cool shades of blue against the warm colour of the stone houses. It is worth noting the difference between the appearance of the shore in this watercolour and that of similar views of the early nineteenth century. In the latter, Larnaca was mostly depicted from a distance at sea, and was presented in a panoramic style, as for example in the works of E.T. Daniell and John Gardner Wilkinson (illus. no. 91, 94). The houses appeared small. Ellis found the architecture interesting enough in itself and devoted a detailed watercolour to it. The minaret, as usual, stands out but the house next to it shows the intriguing architectural amalgamation of cultures in Cyprus. Strong, rudimentary pillars support a roof which further along supports an almost overhanging second floor, probably a later addition to the original building.<sup>443</sup> The tall house with the red-tiled roof and the flag flying belonged to Richard Mattei,<sup>444</sup> a Cypriot-Italian landowner and member of Garnet

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<sup>442</sup> Private collection, Nicosia

<sup>443</sup> This was the Municipality building for many years. See: Agnes Michaelides: Larnaca, the old Scala, p. 55

<sup>444</sup> Richard Mattei owned a prosperous farm in Dali village and had invented a system for the extermination of the locust; he was publicly thanked by the Government for his services. See: Ann

Wolseley's first Legislative Council. Amongst the long row of buildings a number of arches, kiosks and balconies are distinguishable under flat and sloping tiled roofs. Figures working on the pier and some men struggling in a boat in the foreground of the watercolour add an ethnographic element to the picture which was after all found often in Ellis's paintings of Cyprus. In *The Artist's mules in a rich Cypriot's home*, (illus. no. 234) Ellis not only presents the interior of a traditional Cypriot house but allows his own colonial attitudes to intervene within the picture. The only local figures are those of the servants who are Greek, looking awkward and servile and confined to the ground level of the building with the animals. The artist is dressed in pure white, wears a pith helmet (insignia of the ruling class) and is ascending the staircase to his quarters.

In a watercolour of *The walls of Nicosia*<sup>445</sup> where he presents a row of camels leaving the city, while a British officer on his horse is supervising some workers in the expanse of arid land outside the walls, the artist is primarily concerned with atmospheric effect (illus. no. 235). A couple of simple huts and a protruding minaret are the only buildings alluding to life within the fortifications. Ellis, apart from having chosen to portray an exotic picture, has limited his use of colours, giving greater emphasis to capturing the light. The city walls recede almost in a direct line towards the distant horizon of the mountains: he employed a similar perspective the picture of the Larnaca seafront. Red and blue tints of local colour and bright expanses of wash for the mountains accentuate their uneven height and clearly distinguish the Five-finger peaks. The landscape is dusty and still, suggesting a hot day and reminding one of the desert atmosphere found in the watercolours of Augustus Osborne Lamplough.<sup>446</sup> The presence of a British officer on his horse and in his role of the colonial master, supervising a few local workers before the ancient city wall with its bastion beyond, alludes to and locates the time and place in an imperial context and in the sequence of successive colonisations of Cyprus – Lusignan, Venetian, Ottoman and British.

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Cavendish: Cyprus 1878, the journal of Sir Garnet Wolseley, p. 63. I would like to express my gratitude to Mr. George Iacovou, Cultural Officer of the Larnaca Municipality, for identifying these houses for me.

<sup>445</sup> Private collection, Nicosia

<sup>446</sup> See appendix



Despite his self-proclaimed sincerity, Ellis, like most other British artists of the period, presented pictures that did not always live up to his initial intentions. He was just as guilty of the colonialist attitudes of the British travellers who insisted on presenting Cyprus only exotic, picturesque and indeed oriental, not acknowledging any signs or links with Western civilization, with the purpose of enhancing their role of benefactors; neither was Ellis innocent of political bias when he *beautified* (here “orientalised”) the island for the purpose of making it more attractive and interesting to his public, not only from an artistic point of view, but also to justifying Government policies and his own prejudices.

### *Travelling in style*

It was November 7th 1878 when the luxurious yacht *The Sunbeam* arrived at the small port of Paphos. In it travelled one of the most celebrated and adventurous couples with their companions and crew: Lord Thomas and Lady Annie Brassey. The Brasseys decided to visit the island while on a cruise in the Mediterranean; the political arguments over the acquisition of Cyprus by the British and the news over the Cesnola collection must have brought about this decision since Thomas Brassey was deeply involved in politics (supporting the Liberal party) and he and his wife were very interested in ethnography and the ancient world. They spent ten days on the island whose description forms the Cyprus chapter in Annie Brassey’s book *Sunshine and Storm in the East*.<sup>447</sup> Also aboard *The Sunbeam* and a member of the travelling party was the Honorable A. Y. Bingham,<sup>448</sup> an artist who accompanied the Brasseys on most of their trips and illustrated Lady Brassey’s travel books. Bingham made fourteen sketches for the Cyprus chapter. These illustrations follow the narrative, obviously answering to specific requirements of the author. Six sketches aim at acquainting the reader with the

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<sup>447</sup> Lady Brassey: *Sunshine and Storm in the East*, Longmans, Green and Co., London, 1881, pp. 274-339

<sup>448</sup> See appendix.

island and are thus strictly topographical. Another five refer mainly to episodes encountered by the travellers; the rest show the children of the family at play and a British officer. The topographical views differ little from others of the period, concentrating mainly on town panoramas and Gothic monuments, while the five sketches referring to their experiences dwell on the British presence on the island as in the sketches *Arrival in camp and Meeting Sir Garnet Wolseley* (illus. no. 236-237). Inevitably, whenever local figures are included, in towns or in the countryside, they are shown in oriental dress and in exotic surroundings which are marked by palm-trees and minarets. The last sketch<sup>449</sup> entitled *Kind Attentions*, is perhaps a novelty among the usual representations of Cyprus (illus. no. 238); the relevant passage from the narrative explains the picture:

*When we expressed a wish to wash our hands, one monk appeared with a tin wash-hand basin, another with soap, a third with a towel, while a fourth held a candle. It was with great difficulty that I persuaded them to leave the things for us to do our ablutions. They politely insisted on holding the basin till we had dipped our faces and hands in it, and then merely waited outside the door till we had completed our toilette.*

This comic incident brings to life the differences in the cultural background of the two groups. On the one hand the monks, in their efforts to be hospitable and pleasing, become servile and burdensome, while the guests, valuing their sense of privacy, are struggling to assert their “superiority” by seeming to be at home in a potentially ludicrous situation. The imposing stature of the Cypriot monks in long robes, long beards and tall headdresses, in a vaulted room of religious austerity is juxtaposed with the elegantly feminine figures of Lady Brassey and Mabelle (her sister), small and delicate, facing the stout figures of the monks. The lit candle, the dark corridor with other monks in the distance, and the arches within the room almost give the impression that some very curious secret ceremony was about to take place.

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<sup>449</sup> Lady Brassey: Sunshine and Storm in the East, p. 331



## *An ode to the lost kingdom*

By the closing years of the nineteenth century, the British were well on their way of turning Cyprus into a British colony. It was just about then, in 1899, that a French scholar, archaeologist, art historian and photographer decided to present another dimension of the island, that of a French kingdom. Camille Enlart,<sup>450</sup> visited Cyprus over the months of February to June 1896, under the auspices of the Ministry of Public Instruction to study and report on the Gothic monuments of the island. He was then 37 years old ( he was born at Boulogne-sur-mer in 1862), had learned drawing at the Ecole des Beaux-Arts in Paris and had studied historical documentation at the Ecole des Chartes. Well- travelled and speaking foreign languages, his passion was French Gothic architecture. Marquis de Vogüé, Baron Rey, Edward I'Anson and Sidney Vacher had worked on the same subject in Cyprus before Enlart. However, it is his work *L'Art Gothique et la Renaissance en Chypre*,<sup>451</sup> a large volume containing an expert and comprehensive information about practically every Gothic monument on the island, accompanied by no less than 421 of his personal drawings, that was unanimously accepted as the authoritative source on the subject and continues to be regarded as such today.

With his versatile and indefatigable nature, Enlart not only looked at religious monuments but included military and domestic architecture of the Lusignan and Venetian periods; he also referred to Byzantine churches and chapels, making comparisons and discussing influences, pointing to both the pure and decadent Gothic remnants. Each edifice is described in detail and given its history. The book is enriched with drawings often made under the most difficult conditions of heat and lack of supplies. Enlart, with an architect's perception, provides supplementary sketches of special features and aspects to accompany the main representations giving thus more information (illus. no. 239). His drawings evoke the legendary, the chivalric and the romantic connotations of the Lusignan history, in an atmospheric and imaginative

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<sup>450</sup> See appendix.

<sup>451</sup> Camille Enlart: *L'Art Gothique et la Renaissance en Chypre*, Ernest Leroux, Editeur, Paris, 1899

representational method; the vegetation surrounding the monuments (illus. no. 240) is drawn with supple use of linear detail, coats of arms identifying ownership are included (illus. no. 241), interesting viewpoints are selected (illus. no. 242) and small elements of everyday life appear (illus. no. 243), <sup>452</sup> creating through his representations and reconstructions of buildings a noble and formidable view of Cyprus as a French kingdom. The sketches, although of ruins of centuries past, are far from dry; they are imbued with the affectionate and romantic nature of the artist whose ultimate purpose was to breathe life into them and resurrect the glorious past of the island from the remnants among which the people of Cyprus were still living. *L'Art Gothique et la Renaissance en Chypre*, is perhaps the last proud testimony of the French in Cyprus and a lamentation of its loss by the French.

Camille Enlart signed his drawings with his initials, in most cases incorporated in the pictures, for example incised on a floor slab or on a brick of the wall. The book also contains some borrowed drawings by Edmond Duthoit belonging to the Marquis De Vogüé and Baron Rey who had inspected the monuments in 1860, as well as a series of sketches made by two British architects and draughtsmen, Edward I'Anson and Sidney Vacher. The latter were instructed by the British Administration to record the monuments of Cyprus including those of Byzantine and Ottoman architecture. They visited the island in 1882 and published their findings in a series of articles,<sup>453</sup> accompanied by sketches. Theirs was perhaps the first official British attempt to identify and list the monuments of Cyprus but it was much later, through the efforts of George Jeffery that this was made possible in full scale. I'Anson and Vacher worked under stressful conditions:

*I should add that in sketching I laboured under many disadvantages...while my back was turned and I was taking a dimension at the other side of the building, they looted*

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<sup>452</sup> Camille Enlart: Gothic Art and the Renaissance in Cyprus, Trigraph, London, 1987, p. 185, fig. 129, p. 407, fig. 355, p. 417, fig. 393, p. 201, fig. 146.

<sup>453</sup> Edward I'Anson and Sidney Vacher: Medieval and other buildings in the island of Cyprus, Transactions of the Royal Institute of British Architects, 1882-1883, pp. 13-31.



*my measuring rod, sketching stool and other valuables, though not a soul was to be seen either before or after the occurrence.*<sup>454</sup>

Approximately fifty five of the sketches are now deposited in the Royal Institute of British Architects.<sup>455</sup> Most are pencil or ink drawings, some are in watercolours, executed in a professional manner with floor plans and measurements, addressed to a specialised audience. This however does not make them less appealing; on the contrary, in his work, Sidney Vacher<sup>456</sup> included small figures in costumes contemporary to the period of the edifice (illus. no. 244)<sup>457</sup> and often enough represented the Cypriot peasants seated amongst the ruins achieving thus an effect of familiarity (illus. no. 245).<sup>458</sup> Two beautiful examples of Ottoman architecture, with hanging kiosks and pointed arches are to be found in his pencil drawings of Cythrea<sup>459</sup> (illus. no. 246); the houses, although in a rather unattended condition, are large and spacious, surrounded by gardens and reminiscent of their previous grandeur. The village itself was one of the largest villages in Cyprus, always included in the itinerary of travellers due to its reputation of having been sacred to Venus; its luxurious gardens were watered by a stream that was supposed to come across from Asia Minor.

### ***The “Dr. Schliemann” of Cyprus***

Max Hermann Ohnefalsch-Richter<sup>460</sup> also took the route of archaeology and history of art, believing himself to be to Cyprus what Dr. H. Schliemann was to Troy. He first

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<sup>454</sup> *Ibid* p. 22-23

<sup>455</sup> Royal Institute of British Architects, drawing collection, G-K 154 (3), Edward I’Anson, shelf C2.

<sup>456</sup> See appendix.

<sup>457</sup> Camille Enlart: Gothic Art and the Renaissance in Cyprus p. 499, fig. 414

<sup>458</sup> Royal Institute of British Architects, drawing collection, G-K 154 (3), Edward I’Anson shelf C2. no. 32, *Remains at Paphos*

<sup>459</sup> *Ibid* G-K 154 (3), Edward I’Anson shelf C2, no. 55

<sup>460</sup> See appendix.

visited the island in 1878 as a newspaper reporter only to discover that the island's archaeological treasures interested him more. He immediately embarked on a series of excavations which secured him a worthy niche in museum circles. Richter had many contacts in the island and his work was greatly appreciated by the British authorities who often assigned to him various archaeological explorations. His farming background involved him in the Forestry Department as Superintendent of Works for Replanting, while his knowledge of photography and reporting proved useful in his role of publisher of *The Owl* magazine in Cyprus (11 September 1888). But archaeology was his main interest in the pursuit of which he became the co-founder of the Cyprus Museum and assigned himself the role of "consulting archaeologist and superintendent of excavations." Richter published a number of articles on Cyprus yet his main work remains the book *Kypros, the Bible and Homer*.<sup>461</sup> He and his wife shared not only memorable trips of archaeological discoveries on the island but also delved into the folklore, local arts and crafts customs and traditions of the place. Their interests overlapped and they helped each other in their research and documentation, the result of which was a second most valuable book, Griechische Sitten und Gebräuche auf Cypern, Belrin Dietrich Reimer, 1913. The couple enjoyed taking photographs and painting in Cyprus; they illustrated the various ancient vessels, often decorated with vivid designs, which they discovered in tombs during excavations.

Topography was another subject that attracted the Richters. A photographic album presented by them to the Prince and Princess of Sachen-Meiningen-Hildburghausen, includes a small pen and ink drawing of part of the vine district near the village of Kyperounda (illus. no. 247).<sup>462</sup> Vines were also one of Richter's interests. In fact, he tried desperately to promote the Cypriot wines to Germany only to be told that they contained a very high percentage of sulphur and were thus rejected. Richter's twelve consecutive years in Cyprus afforded him an intimate understanding of the countryside and this is reflected in his picture: narrow mud-tracks twist around the hills, over stone bridges of pointed arches, and across terraced land. The vegetation in the area appears

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<sup>461</sup> Max H. Ohnefalsch-Richter: *Kypros, the Bible and Homer*, Asher and Co., London, 1893.

<sup>462</sup> Cyprus Popular Bank Cultural Centre: *Studies in Cyprus*, Zavallis Litho, Nicosia, 1994, pl. 18.



low and sparse, the clay earth lending itself mostly to the cultivation of vines; humble mud-brick houses of the peasant country folk can be seen scattered near sources of water, while transport is still performed by donkeys. One cannot claim that Richter had great artistic talent but he did have sensitivities and acute observation, representing then what is now cherished as the cultural landscape of Cyprus.

A second sketch, this time in watercolours,<sup>463</sup> presents an extensive landscape near Salamis (illus. no. 248). It must be a spring day as the flowers in the foreground, the tall asphodels,<sup>464</sup> a coloniser of neglected land, is already in full bloom. The centre of the picture is occupied by an ancient tomb, referred to locally as the prison of St. Catherine. The saint was believed to have been born in Famagusta and imprisoned in this tomb by an enemy of her father Consta, who was once Commander of the city after whom Famagusta was named Constantia in ancient times. The northern mountain range of Cyprus is clearly visible on the horizon as are a number of camels grazing in the distance. Two young girls are crouching in the foreground as if they are collecting flowers. Wild anemones and crocuses grew in abundance on wasteland in early Spring. The girls are in the traditional vividly coloured Ottoman dress of long skirts and long mantilla-type headdresses that can cover the face when needed. The artist has brought together Greek and Turkish elements creating an exotic landscape. Furthermore, this particular watercolour reflects most of his interests: that of archaeology, ethnography, the flora and geography of the island. The colours are pure and strong accentuating an impression of an unpolluted atmosphere enjoyed by the seated calm figures. Richter pieced together the romantic and ethnographic aspect of Cyprus that so much attracted him and his wife.

### *And many more*

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<sup>463</sup> Presently in a private collection in Nicosia

<sup>464</sup> Asphodelus Microcarpus Salz. et Viv. is a characteristic feature of the Cyprus countryside in early spring. See Ann Matthews: Lilies of the Field, D. Couvas & Sons, Limassol-Cyprus, 1968, p. 12

There is no doubt that topography stretches across the works of all artists who visited Cyprus at the end of the nineteenth century. It is the common denominator in their pictures, forming also the background for some that have more to say. Watercolours and drawings by identified and anonymous artists present simple topographical views, as for example the watercolour of *Ayia Irene*, an area near Morphou bay in the north coast of the island (illus. no. 249), by an anonymous artist dated 1879 where the earth dazzles with its redness and one can see the snow-caped mountains of Caramania on the opposite shore of Turkey. In the distance are the last hills of the Kyrenia mountain range. Another example is the view of the rooftops of the town of Nicosia near the Phaneromeni church, by George Smith<sup>465</sup> (illus. no. 250). The church was relatively new then, built in 1872 over the foundations of an older Greek Orthodox nunnery and with stones from the ruins of the castle Leondarion on a hill in the outskirts of Nicosia.<sup>466</sup> Against the gray mountains of Kyrenia stand the white-washed houses of the city crammed next to each other. Palm trees appear competing in height with the church steeple while the red tiles roof tops add touches of brilliancy to the landscape. Noticeable are the windows made of permanently secured wooden bars which would allow the light into the houses but hopefully nothing else. Behind them were glass panes. The old skylines of towns and the wide expanses of uninhabited areas on the island remain now only in the illustrations of such artists.

The minarets and beautiful windows of St. Sophia<sup>467</sup> (illus. no. 251) and the minaret with the Turkish figures in front of it in a narrow lane in Kyrenia<sup>468</sup> (illus. no. 252), in addition to the most romantic and exotic picture by I. L. Wilson of the Tekke of Umm Haram (illus. no. 253), speak of an oriental outlook within the topographical context of Cyprus. Executed more or less during the same period, a watercolour by Colonel White<sup>469</sup> of Famagusta harbour, which includes ships from the British fleet (illus. no.

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<sup>465</sup> See appendix. Watercolour c.1878, in a private collection, Nicosia.

<sup>466</sup> Rupert Gunnis: *Historic Cyprus*, p. 76

<sup>467</sup> Anonymous, watercolour, c. 1878, in private collection Nicosia

<sup>468</sup> Anonymous, watercolour, c. 1880, in private collection Nicosia.

<sup>469</sup> See appendix.



254)<sup>470</sup> and a watercolour by an anonymous artist of the port of Limassol (illus. no. 255), portraying the hoisting of the British flag, with a minaret and the Turkish flag in the background, point to political connotations that are once again to be found within topography.

The last watercolour is curious: although descriptions of the arrival of the British in Limassol mention the lowering of the Turkish flag and the hoisting of the British standard at the Limassol fort<sup>471</sup> (seen in the watercolour flying the Turkish flag), both flags are hoisted in this instance. One can only assume that the official ceremony had not taken place as yet and that the British officers initially hoisted a flag upon stepping on Limassol ground in the harbour and to the astonishment of the local population. Otherwise this could be explained as a symbolic portrayal of the act of transition.

Finally, a watercolour by Frederick Vigers<sup>472</sup> of Nicosia, with the Gothic church of St. Augustin as a landmark, portrays a Cypriot father with his female child (illus. no. 256). The figures stand in a field just South of the monument, which in 1570 was turned into the Omerye mosque.<sup>473</sup> The man is holding a little girl tight by the hand, and one can safely assume that they are out picking wild weeds and herbs, the abundance of which is indicated by the green carpet covering the ground. His costume points to his nationality; parental affection is exhibited in the way this Greek Cypriot holds on to his offspring, in the bending of his head and his attentive look upon the child. The strong family ties of the Greek Cypriot families were often commented upon by travellers,<sup>474</sup> as was the habit

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<sup>470</sup> Watercolour, oval, signed *Col. White*, dated April, 1,...78, inscribed *FAMAGUSTA*, in private collection in Nicosia.

<sup>471</sup> Costas Pilavakis: *Limassol of times past*, Chr. Georgiou Press, Limassol, 1977, p. 112

<sup>472</sup> See appendix.

<sup>473</sup> The original edifice dates to the fourteenth century and was one of the most impressive monuments of Nicosia. It suffered heavy destruction during the siege of the city in 1570 by the Ottomans who then decided to restore it adding a wooden roof and dedicated it to the prophet Omer. According to the legend the Caliph Omer visited Nicosia and lodged in the church. He is believed to still be alive and travel round the world saying his prayers. See: George Jeffery: *A Description of the Historic monuments of Cyprus*, pp. 39-40.

<sup>474</sup> Esme Scott- Stevenson: *Our Home in Cyprus*, p. 89: *The fondness for their children, that of the fathers especially, is very touching. Not only do they share all their property amongst them when they grow*

of collecting wild weeds.<sup>475</sup> Once again it must be early Spring, for although there is ground vegetation, the tree against the wall is still leafless. The red dress of the little girl attracts the attention and the state of the monument speaks of its history: although built of thick stones and with projecting buttresses reminiscent of the Gothic style, its missing height and flat roof confuse and betray a combination of architectural techniques by different cultures.<sup>476</sup> In the distance is a domed building, a Turkish bath-house. The clear blue sky, the green of the ground, the security offered by the building which appears to be sheltering the two figures and most of all the parental devotion exhibited by the father, constitute a charming picture created by a very sensitive hand. The Cypriots here, as in the sketches of Duthoit, come through as a protective and familial, a quality that is characteristic of the Middle East.

## CONCLUSION

The first part of the nineteenth century witnessed an increase of travellers to and illustrations of Cyprus. The artists/visitors came mainly from Continental Europe and Britain. They produced images that covered many themes, a fact pointing to the diversity of their own inquisitiveness. While in the eighteenth century the main subject of representations were the Gothic monuments followed by the antiquities, in the nineteenth century the variety is greater but almost always within a topographical framework. Artists from central Europe or Germanic background such as Hammer Purgstall, Ludwig Ross and Otto von Richter continued in the pursuit of scientific and academic interests. Works by Bottazi, Arundale, Schranz and Mary exhibit a romantic approach in their interest in topography and the picturesque, while still lingering on the periphery of the traditional Orientalist works of art. They presented to the public aspects of the topography and life in Cyprus with no strong or serious inclinations of the kind existing in Said's theory. Since Cyprus was not yet included in the colonial mapping of

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*up, but will often shield them from disgrace at any risk to themselves.*

<sup>475</sup> *Ibid* pp. 84-85.

<sup>476</sup> George Jeffery: A Description of the Historic Monuments of Cyprus, pp. 39-40



the Middle East by the European powers, messages of imperialism or colonialism are not evident. The role of the subject people and rulers exists within the historical framework of the situation on the island at that period and as perceived by the artists, but it does not extend itself to levels of discrimination between the backward Orientals and the civilised Europeans.

The approach to topography by the artists and the development of the context in which it appears is quite interesting. It is as if the artists wanted to present a country that is topographically reminiscent of the West but ethnographically is more reminiscent of the East. There are palm-trees protruding from Venetian walls or shading Lusignan palaces. There are castles and monasteries beneath high mountains and there are antiquities buried in bushes or surrounded by vegetation, while the people are represented exotically in quaint oriental costumes. The proximity of Cyprus to the East enhances the impact of its topography that is found instinct with unexpected historical references of the West. The Greek cultural heritage of the island and the ruins of the classical period were not especially impressive (particularly when compared to those of Greece or Egypt) and since the Byzantine monuments that could be regarded as the last testaments of Cyprus's attachment to the Greek world during the era of the Byzantine Empire lay mostly in obscure places they were not obvious to the average traveller. Therefore Cyprus was not perceived as being even on the periphery of the Greek world; this had an effect on the visitors and painters of the early nineteenth century. While in Greece, they occupied themselves primarily with the classical monuments, fascinated by the antique ruins and carried away by the history of ancient Greece, largely forgetting and hardly portraying the topography of the land. *In their search for mood and effect, the artists were frequently uninterested in investigating the actual features of the landscapes they drew. ... they depicted the Greek scenery in a Claudian diffused light that tended to blur forms until they seemed part of the very iridescence of the atmosphere.*<sup>477</sup> Most of their topographical investigations were directed by the purpose they served of identifying their intellectual quests for historical sites. Their pictorial representations are often misleading, since their main interest lay in the monuments and

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<sup>477</sup> Fani-Maria Tsigakou: The Rediscovery of Greece, Thames and Hudson, London 1981, p. 28

not the landscape. In Cyprus, the opposite was true. The landscape captured the imagination and led the painter to the historical monument. The actual surroundings inspired the painter and the topography shared in the importance of the representation of the monument. Paintings of Crusader castles are clear examples of this, where the wildness of the landscape enhances the effect of the castle. Views of Bellapais have exactly the same effect, where the Abbey is situated beneath the imposing mountain range, in lush vegetation. Large panoramas and picturesque coastline views of the island enhance topography's role and make it the main theme of the nineteenth century representations of Cyprus. It would be fair to add that often illustrations of the island came into being purely circumstantially. Cyprus did not offer the visible glories of the Greek world nor the biblical sites of the Holy Land and therefore many artists did not seek it out *per se* but just happened to be passing through or accidentally arrived there, such as Bartlett and Harding.

Furthermore, the Greek Revolution had provided plenty of heroes for the European artists to admire and immortalise on canvases and in engravings. However, Cyprus had no share in the philhellenic sentiments of Europe; there was no revolution, no great figures to stir the interest of the West. A pre-emptive massacre of 400 Bishops and notables in 1821 by the Turks, although mentioned in the European press, did not seem to have much impact. No heroes were acknowledged, and as there were no local figures renowned beyond the shores of the island the historical portrait is almost absent from Cyprus.

A paragonising attitude towards the East was often detected in the attitudes and writings of the European visitors, underlining the fact that they did not make a genuine effort to mix with the local population and familiarise themselves with it. They mostly kept their distance preferring the role of observer. They can be justified by the fact that not knowing the language, the guide or dragoman (translator) always interposed between them and the locals; the lack of proper mapping and the political insecurity of the Orient kept one on guard; time was limited and the European traveller could not easily find people of a social class comparable to his own, while the Levantines' attitude to



admiration and want of money made them wary of them. As John Pemble put it *they regarded the countries of Southern Europe, North Africa and the Levant as museums, sanatoria and asylums, not as living societies. Their main concern was with art, ruins, climate and release from social duty and responsibility.*<sup>478</sup>

By the middle of the nineteenth century the increased interest of France in the island induced the first series of ethnographical representations of Cyprus. These were mainly sketches in pen and ink, pencil drawings or watercolours as the intense heat was hardly conducive to painting in oils *in situ*. The first signs of political and financial recovery on the island were perceived by the travellers; these were transmitted into their works where concepts of class structuring, work patterns, productivity, social conditions and customs become evident. Apart from illustrating the island, some artists became players in the power game of the European powers over expansionist mapping. Grasset tried hard to raise the interest of the French public in Cyprus, while Duthoit, aware of the antique treasures on the island, in his own way used them to stir interest. The *feeling of familiarity* acquires a special role in this context, whereby the artist brings his subject matter closer to his spectators.

The *exotic* also appealed to the taste of the public. Closer to the end of the century, Salvador rounds up the last years of Ottoman rule with a series of totally oriental depictions of Cyprus with the exotic element emphasised, a feature that continues in the images produced by the new masters of the land. Their work is indeed exotic and oriental containing political connotations and projecting the British presence. Military camp life became a popular theme.

It is interesting at this point to compare Cassas' "Ruins of Bellapais" (illus. no. 44) and Ellis' "Marina of Larnaca" (illus. no. 232), which were executed approximately one hundred years apart under two different regimes and at different moments in the history of the Island. Cassas visited an Ottoman dominion, Ellis a British protectorate. What is surprising is that Cassas presents us with a view of Cyprus which can be identified with

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<sup>478</sup> John Pemble: The Mediterranean Passion, Victorians and Edwardians in the South, p. 266



the Western world at a time when Cyprus was politically and geographically part of the East, while Ellis gives us an image of the Orient at a time when Cyprus is breaking away from the Ottoman influence and is about to enter the Western world in every sense of the word. Remarkably, Cyprus enters the "orientalist" artistic tradition at the end of the period when it was most popular, when it should have been there much earlier. All the pretexts for representing Cyprus in an Orientalist manner (that is, position, religious affiliations, Ottoman rule), appear at the end of the nineteenth century. This is not to say that Cyprus was never part of the "Orient". Having been part of the Ottoman Empire for 300 years gave Cyprus an "Oriental" flavour.

Nevertheless, the artists who visited Cyprus in the eighteenth century and the travellers who chose to write about it did not make these facts their major consideration in their treatment of the island. What was actually emphasized was Christianity (Catholic, not Orthodox), the landscape, and the medieval glory, which was certainly not Ottoman, but Frankish, Gothic and Venetian. The island remained in their eyes and in their thoughts - in spite of its geopolitical position - as belonging to Western culture. Therefore, to portray an island under British rule as Oriental, accentuating all its oriental elements at a time when it was being exposed the most to the West seems to be, at least, anachronistic.<sup>479</sup> Furthermore, to "bypass" the Greekness of the land is somewhat peculiar; there are very few representations of Greek churches, Hellenistic sites or purely Greek ethnographical scenes considering that the artists were surrounded by a predominantly Greek population. Bearing in mind the expressed desire of the Greek Cypriots to unite the island with Greece, a problem which the British politicians were

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<sup>479</sup> Hamilton Lang: *Cyprus*, Macmillan and Co., London, 1878, p.190: *...but notwithstanding all these drawbacks, and in spite of them, the island progressed, and its state when handed over a few months ago to the British Government was immensely better than it was twenty years before.*

George Chacalli: *Cyprus under British rule*, p. 13: *The Christian element begun to thrive again and at the time of the English occupation the Christians were the most important and wealthy community of the Island. Almost the whole of the immovable property that had passed into the hands of the Turks in 1821 had already returned again into the hands of the Christians.* See also p. 34.

John Thomson: *Through Cyprus with the camera in the Autumn of 1878*: 5: *A street in Larnaca...the houses however, are more European in style than those of Egypt, a peculiarity which they possibly owe to the Lusignan Kings of Cyprus. ... There are now a number of hotels in the Marina, as well as Greek boarding establishments, where the traveller may be comfortably lodged at a small cost. When the island was transferred to the British rule, spectators flocked to Larnaca and companies were started in London for the immediate development of Cyprus.*



becoming rapidly aware of,<sup>480</sup> it becomes more understandable why the Greek elements of Cyprus were ignored. Was this a result of British attempts to distance Cyprus from Greece and redefine its geopolitical position? Was presenting an “oriental” island simply a conscious decision taken by the British travellers and artists of the nineteenth century in order to please the taste of their audience?

One could argue that both suppositions are true. The British, by the 1870s, were repositioning themselves in the Middle East and Cyprus became essential to the strategic re-organisation of the Empire.<sup>481</sup> They felt that the island was indispensable and they were not going to succumb to any pressures for handing it over to Greece. However, British foreign policy, exhibiting territorial erosion of the Ottoman Empire and imperialist attitudes, would be subjected to less scrutiny by the public and the opposition if it was veiled with a “benevolent” aspect: that of bringing western culture to the “back of beyond,” to the “savage” orientals. This aspect would be conducive towards gaining public approval and justifying the Government’s decisions. So, Cyprus, before anything else, had to be turned over and identified with the rest of the Orient. *Cyprus is the East. You must not seek for pastures under palms*, wrote Hepworth Dixon.<sup>482</sup> Conveniently enough, the “oriental” was identified with the exotic and as such appealed and excited the British public, while at the same time distancing the island politically from Greece.

The illustrations of *The Illustrated London News* and *The Graphic* are examples of imperialist attitudes and of politically motivated representations of a dominant power’s attempts to impose one kind of culture onto another, to formulate and fabricate according to British interests and requirements. Concepts of domination are apparent throughout these illustrations.

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<sup>480</sup> George Georghallides: A Political and Administrative History of Cyprus, p. 39

<sup>481</sup> *Ibid* pp. 4 - 6.

<sup>482</sup> Hepworth Dixon: British Cyprus, p. 14

During the same period Cyprus was illustrated by a number of women artists who produced charming views of domesticated landscapes; while landscape painting is to be found amongst the works of men, the women confined themselves only to this subject. They did not attempt to depict camp life (a lady was not to be seen in men's quarters), or ethnographic views which would require proximity to the locals; the social and gender discriminations of the Occidental power are thus reflected in its art.



## THE COLONIAL PERIOD

By the 1900s Cyprus had featured in the most popular magazines of Great Britain and France and enough guide books had been written<sup>483</sup> to make the island known to the average traveller. It was now one of the favoured tourist destinations, especially of the British and was so promoted by the British Government in England as well as by the colonial administration in Cyprus itself. During the first three decades of the twentieth century social and economic conditions on the island had improved considerably. The British government had established an efficient civil service, had built roads, had worked towards the elimination of swamps and the improvement of hygiene conditions in order to eradicate various epidemics and the locusts. It introduced a new judicial system, while the economy, commerce and trade of the island had been encouraged to develop. The Greek language was used everywhere and the Greek educational system was followed in the Greek Cypriot schools. Communications with the rest of Europe were improving, while electricity was beginning to be installed. The first luxury goods, such as the wireless and cars, were acquired by Cypriots. Foreign companies, such as the New Limni Mines, Bells United Asbestos and the Cyprus Mines Co-operation, which was American owned, were investing in the island's resources. The Greek population had risen from 182,739 in 1901 to 276,573 in 1931, while the Turkish population rose from 51,309 to 64,238 during the same period.<sup>484</sup> The Greek Cypriots were grateful that Britain had extricated Cyprus from the Turkish yoke. Nevertheless, the wish for *enosis*, union with Greece, was a powerful sentiment continually manifested, more so after the annexation of the island by Britain in November 1914 due to Turkey's entry into the Great War on the side of the Central Powers. Complaints concerning taxation and colonial decrees were customary and continuous, though

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<sup>483</sup> Edward Vizetelly: From Cyprus to Zanzibar, C. Arthur Pearson, Limited, London, 1901  
George Chacalli: Cyprus under British rule, Phoni tis Kyprou, Nicosia, Cyprus  
Sir T. H. Hutchinson and Claude Delaval Cobham: A handbook of Cyprus, Edward Stanford, London, 1907.

<sup>484</sup> George Georghallides: A Political and Administrative history of Cyprus, p. 427

overall peace prevailed. Cyprus by 1925 had become a British Crown Colony<sup>485</sup> and the Cypriots were British subjects. The title of British High Commissioner was abolished and replaced by that of Governor. The first Governor of Cyprus was Sir Malcolm Stevenson to be followed in December 1926 by Sir Ronald Storrs.

Although at the beginning of the British rule Cyprus was presented as exotic and oriental, at the start of the twentieth century attempts were made to project a new image of the island with its “European” elements being put forth. The antiquities, now more obvious; the mountain resorts with amenities for the travellers; traditional hospitality, hotels, banks, and international communications were being advertised in order to promote tourism and investment. However, the results were not the desired ones. With World War I approaching, Europe in turmoil, travelling and transport more difficult and finances limited, not many tourists visited the island. Therefore not many artistic representations of Cyprus are to be added to the list.

Another reason for the absence or limited existence of art in or about the island becomes apparent if one compares the situation in Cyprus with that of a neighbouring island, Malta. During the turn of the century one witnesses in Malta a flourishing art market, created by the British personnel posted on the island but also by a rising indigenous Maltese School. The Maltese caught on to the idea of producing memorabilia watercolours and paintings for sale to the visitors and to the British military and resident civilians.<sup>486</sup> Names such as Count Amadeo Pretsiozi and the Schranz brothers were popular amongst art circles not only in Malta but in Turkey, France and England. This was not the case with Cyprus where painting was taken up only by the visitors, for their own pleasure, for special commissions or for sale to a sophisticated public in the homeland, not on the island. The Cypriots, of much lower economic and educational standards, were not in a position to follow the Maltese example. Art did not develop on the island until after the First World War and then it was only in small quantities and

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<sup>485</sup> The Treaty of Lausanne, 23 July 1923, gave Britain a legal title to the sovereignty of Cyprus.

<sup>486</sup> Paul Sant Cassia: The Discovery of Malta: Nature, Culture and Ethnicity in 19th century Painting (Review Article), Journal of Mediterranean Studies, 1993, vol. 3, no. 2, pp. 354-377.



inferior quality. Since no Cypriot artists were ever part of the art circles of Europe and the island was basically unknown to the higher ranking milieu of the world of painting and the Salons, it was only patronised by the amateur and middle of the road artists. Furthermore, art and aesthetics were not taught at schools, except in two or three schools of the major towns as a minor subject, for example the Pancyprian Gymnasium of Nicosia, and the Limassol School.

Comparing Cyprus with Greece, once again Cyprus was in a disadvantageous position. Although fewer artists visited Greece during this period, intellectual philhellenism still inspired works of art with Greek themes. These did not depend on the topography of Greece, nor did they require a visit to the land. Aesthetic painters with classical themes such as John William Waterhouse<sup>487</sup> and John William Goodward were among the many *Olympian Dreamers*<sup>488</sup> who carried the Greek vision into the twentieth century. In their work, the spirit of Hellas was present even if topography was absent. No such spiritual or aesthetic representations are to be found in relation to Cyprus. Furthermore, art in Greece was well established since the time of Othonian rule with Nicolaos Kounelakis,<sup>489</sup> Spyros Prosalentis<sup>490</sup> and Ioannis Doukas<sup>491</sup> as its main representatives. Another group originating from the Munich School, Nikiphoros Lytras,<sup>492</sup> Constantine Volonakis<sup>493</sup> and Nicolaos Gyzis<sup>494</sup> made numerous topographical paintings of their country which were exhibited in art galleries all over Europe. By the twentieth century, Greece had a number of artists known in the Paris and Munich circles headed by

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<sup>487</sup> See appendix.

<sup>488</sup> Christopher Wood: Olympian Dreamers, Constable and Company, London, 1983

<sup>489</sup> See appendix.

<sup>490</sup> See appendix.

<sup>491</sup> See appendix.

<sup>492</sup> See appendix.

<sup>493</sup> See appendix.

<sup>494</sup> See appendix.

Constantine Parthenis<sup>495</sup> and Constantine Maleas,<sup>496</sup> thus completing a tradition in painting of almost a century. Cyprus was far behind. No artist had flourished on the island and the local population was now bypassing the art of painting and turning to the camera. Postcards were fast replacing watercolours as the commonest form of visual souvenir or to supply commercial representations of the island or for book illustrations. Thus, Pamela Hardeman who visited the island in 1912 amassed a treasure of black and white photographs that her husband subsequently used in his book.<sup>497</sup>

The art of photography reached the island with the arrival of the British although amateur travellers used the camera as early as the middle of the nineteenth century. In 1865 Edmond Duthoit took photographs of excavation sites and antiquities in Cyprus, presently deposited at the *Centre Historique des Archives Nationales* in France. Count de Luynes, Luigi Palma di Cesnola and Max Ohnefalsch-Richter compiled beautiful albums of photographs of monuments and sites taken during their visits. Amongst the first professional photographers to work in Cyprus were John Tomson (1837-1921) and John P. Foscolo (1852-1927). Both followed the British officers on their tour of reconnaissance and portrayed the country in the same manner, with the same attitude and focusing their lenses on the same points as did the artists. A series of photographs of ethnographic and topographical interest, whereby Cyprus and its peoples are portrayed

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<sup>495</sup> See appendix.

<sup>496</sup> See appendix.

<sup>497</sup> F. E. Hardeman: Peregrinations of Pamela, Heath Cranton Ltd., London, 1912



exotic or oriental, was the result of their peregrinations. In 1882 Chalres Glaszner came from Germany and set up his studio in Limassol. He was followed to begin with by a number of Armenian professional photographers (Haigaz Mangoian, Papazian and Avedissian) who established themselves and offered their services on the island until the art was mastered by Cypriots. To begin with, the local photographers followed the British in their choice of subject aiming to sell their photographs/postcards as souvenirs to the visitors. Local demand soon turned their attention to portraiture. The Cypriots enjoyed large photographs of members of their families decorating the walls of their homes. Nobody was interested in buying postcards of bazaar scenes or peasants in quaint costumes making pottery that, in contrast, were popular with the visitors. During the first decades of the twentieth century, when the first neo-classical buildings made their appearance in the main cities, (the Magic Palace cinema, the Town Hall etc.) Cypriots were only too pleased have photographs and postcards that portrayed their country more *occidental* . What appealed and sold locally were neither the existing monuments of the past, nor the more recent colonial constructions, but the newly erected *hellenic* looking buildings.

## *The first Greeks*

At the turn of the century a few Greek artists began to visit Cyprus.<sup>498</sup> The relatively laxer educational system allowed Greek teachers from the mainland to come to the island in order to teach at the various schools that were increasing in numbers. Amongst them was Michael Koufos,<sup>499</sup> from the island of Calymnos and Othon Yiavopoulos.<sup>500</sup> They were followed by Emmanuel Avgoustos<sup>501</sup> and Apostolos Yeralis.<sup>502</sup> They were all employed at schools of secondary education, teaching art, and supplemented their small salaries by executing commissions for portraits or religious paintings for the church. It was only at this period that the Cypriots became affluent enough to start decorating their homes with pictures; they began by hanging portraits and pictures of religious subjects. Samples of Yiavopoulos's work can be seen today in wall paintings in the church of Ayia Napa in Limassol, in a westernised style, deviating from the strict Byzantine rules of hagiography. Examples of portraits of various Cypriot personalities, such as Demosthenis Severis, member of the Legislative Council and great benefactor of Cyprus, depicted in his prime aged forty eight and dressed in western fashionable clothes then member of the Educational Council (illus. no. 257), still hang on the walls of private houses.

Apostolos Yeralis, who later made a name for himself in Greece and whose works are now most sought after, taught art at the Pancyprian Gymnasium in 1909-1911. He was impoverished and exchanged his paintings at the grocer's for food. He worked as a portrait artist but also made some topographical views of Cyprus. In his painting of the castle of Paphos, the artist has incorporated the rural aspect of the island with sheep and goats grazing in a deserted landscape. A small fort is in the distance, a short wooden

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<sup>498</sup> Aristides Coudounaris: The Heptanisian (Ionian) contribution to the social compilation of the Cypriot population, Cyprus studies, vol. M, Nicosia, 1976, p. 95. The very first and only officially listed professional painter to visit the island came from Corfu in 1852, a certain Stephanos Vardis, aged 56. He made his home in Limassol and had no family. Nothing more is known about him.

<sup>499</sup> See appendix.

<sup>500</sup> See appendix.

<sup>501</sup> See appendix.



pier runs into the sea. The fort appears derelict at the edge of a dark expanse of land and lacks historical or decorative significance. The eye is captivated by the beautiful treatment of colours in the sky that is almost alight with the orange rays of the setting sun. The interplay of the blue of the sky with the lighter blue of the sea and the almost purple horizon in the distance create a romantic atmosphere which envelops a most interesting formation of rocks and projects this as the focal point of the picture (illus. no. 258). In its style, this picture is very similar to those of H. S. Corrodi, particularly in the artist's fascination with the light.

The artist's lack of interest in this monument highlights the different approach to be found in the treatment of monuments in Cyprus and Greece. Once again the landscape overwhelms the picture in Cyprus whereas the pride of the Greeks in their monuments would have allocated to them the primary role in any painting. Perhaps because this particular fort was constructed by the Ottomans placed it even lower in the estimation of the artist.

Making a living from his art proved equally difficult for Michael Koufos. Apart from teaching art to eighteen students at the Limassol Gymnasium, he made portraits from photographs and also silhouettes of black paper. He was the first artist ever to exhibit in Cyprus in 1897 at the bar of Zenon Skyrianides in Limassol. One of his topographical paintings, *Limassol 1900* (illus. no. 259), was put up as a lottery prize. The winner subsequently sold it for £2-10-0. The painting shows the seaside road leading to the entrance of the old city of Limassol with fields in the foreground being cultivated. The figure of the peasant in the fields is dressed with long trousers and a white shirt, evidence that already the traditional Cypriot costume was giving way to more European attire. The road is non asphalt but appears to be well formed, the seaside is deserted, swimming not having become socially acceptable as yet, but the town in the distance appears prosperous, with decent houses and trees, minarets and church steeples rising above the rooftops. A second exhibition followed in 1898 at the Limassol Club *Isotis* with works by eighteen of Koufos' students.

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<sup>502</sup> See appendix.

## *A Swiss digging and teaching in Cyprus*

Archaeological finds were one of the attractive aspects of the island by the end of the War. After the Cesnola collection was exhibited at the Metropolitan Museum of New York, and with Cypriot antiquities finding their way into the major museums of France through the French Scientific Missions of 1862-65, Cyprus was given its place, small as it may have been, in the world of archaeological studies. In the twentieth century and under British rule, more foreign expeditions requested permission to excavate in Cyprus. In 1882 the first Museum of Cyprus was founded and accommodated in two rooms of the Secretariat (civil service administration building), while in 1905 the first laws concerning antiquities and excavations were effected by the British Administration. In 1912, permission was granted to Sir John Myers to excavate in Lapithos and Lefkoniko. Einar Gjesrstad came to Cyprus in 1927 heading the Swedish Archaeological Mission. The French archaeologist Claude Schaeffer excavated at Vounous and Engomi, while Stanley Casson, Joan Du Plat Taylor and A.H.S Megaw worked on behalf of the British Government. Cyprus was enhancing its reputation in these circles and young archaeologists were seeking to join expeditions to the island. Amongst them was a young Swiss civil engineer named Jacques Georges Desmeules.

Jacques Georges Desmeules<sup>503</sup> was born at Versailles in 1886; after his studies at Lausanne he decided to go abroad and joined an archaeological mission to Cyprus where he arrived in 1916. He married Renee Zirigovich and remained on the island teaching French at the American Academy at Larnaca and in Limassol. In 1932 he left Cyprus for Alexandria where he continued his close links with the Greek community there teaching French at the Victoria College and the Greek Community School. In 1956 Desmeules, his wife and three sons returned to Switzerland where he spent the rest of his life as a hotelier, painting and writing articles about Cyprus and the Greeks of Egypt.

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<sup>503</sup> See appendix.



Very few people loved and understood the Cypriots and the land as much as Desmeules did. He was prolific in his paintings as well as in his writings about the island. He travelled all over Cyprus but felt a special affinity towards the villages in the mountains and the town of Larnaca. A number of his portraits of men and women represent the people of Cyprus: young women, old priests with white beards, old women with aged faces (illus. no. 260-261). Sketches, watercolours and paintings of topographical interest include well-known sites such as St. Nicolas Cathedral of Famagusta (illus. no. 262), but also solitary humble houses in the countryside, vast expanses of arid land and villages hidden away in the mountain range of Troodos. An idyllic watercolour of Pedhoulas village (illus. no. 263) gives a view of the village through an open doorway and a vine-arbour. Vigorous greens dominate the picture transmitting the healthy climate and the fertility of the region. In the valley one distinguishes the village roof tops and amongst them the tall dome of the church of the Panayia, built in 1858. These mountainous villages were becoming the summer resorts of the townspeople following the example of the British administration that chose to move to the mountains during the hot months of summer. Desmeules often stayed there and visited the nearby villages.

Amongst the artist's papers, kept by his son in Switzerland, are rare drawings of the floors of the monastery of St. Chrysostomos in the Kyrenia mountain range. The artist, sensitive to the rapidly vanishing old decorations under the spell of modernisation, hurried to commemorate on paper the old style marble flooring of the monastery with its intricate pattern and strong colouring. This is the only record of the designs of the monastery floors that has survived today. There is only a brief reference to them by Otto von Richter.<sup>504</sup>

### *Art for commercial purposes*

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<sup>504</sup> Otto von Richter: Wallfahrten im Morgenlande, p. 303

One of the very first British artists to produce a number of watercolours of Cyprus in the twentieth century was Heywood Walter Seton-Karr<sup>505</sup> in 1921-22.<sup>506</sup> Some of his works were donated by Lady Grogan in 1949<sup>507</sup> to the Cyprus Archaeological Museum. These can presently be seen hanging in the corridors and offices of the Museum in a rather dilapidated condition. Yet, even under such circumstances, the indefatigable enthusiasm of the artist for Cyprus permeates the pictures constituting a romantic peregrination of the island from the coast to the inner land and the tops of the mountains. It may be that the artist made these topographical views of Cyprus, after his visit to Palestine where he was on military assignment in 1917, as a specially commissioned artist for the Imperial War Museum (illus. no. 264-265).

By the 1920s the camera, photographs and postcards had inundated the market. There was a kind of “democratisation” of the image that was used by the British Government for visual propaganda. The Imperial Institute and the Empire Marketing Board, established in 1893 and 1926 respectively, had as their ultimate purpose the mounting and spreading of the idea of Imperialism and the “new” concept of the Empire. *It justified an economic system which provided opportunities for individual enterprise and profit-making and therefore helped to maintain the capitalist society. And secondly, it offered for ideological approval the notion of an Empire which was both an economic asset and a civilising mission: it set out to appeal to the perceived economic self-interest and the moral instincts of all social classes and to create a set of common allegiances and shared beliefs to bind up and swaddle social disharmony.*<sup>508</sup> To achieve their purpose these institutes made extensive use of photographs, postcards, films and posters; these helped in linking Britain to her Empire of the dominions and thus make her less vulnerable to foreign competition, aimed at assisting settler migration from Britain to the white dominions, and encouraged inter-imperial trade. Thousands of

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<sup>505</sup> See appendix.

<sup>506</sup> See appendix.

<sup>507</sup> Cyprus Archaeological Museum file 113/37/1

<sup>508</sup> Stephen Constantine: Bringing the Empire Alive, the Empire Marketing Board and Imperial Propaganda, 1926-1933, Imperialism and Popular Culture, edited by John Mackenzie, Manchester University Press, Manchester 1986, p. 193.



posters were distributed to the public, postcards were affordable to all and many British companies adopted visual advertisements of the imperial theme.<sup>509</sup> To support the spreading of popular imperialism there were the various exhibitions with displays from the dominions that created a vision of what they ought to look like rather than what they did actually look like. They did though emphasise the achievement of the white man in the East and brought colonial settlers together in a sense of national unity through travel. Posters were issued by the Empire Marketing Board concerning Cyprus, mainly referring to Cypriot cigarettes. The pictures had an “exotic” flavour. Thus *Buy Cyprus Cigarettes* (illus. no. 266) had the mouflon<sup>510</sup> featuring in the centre of the poster. Hardly an object connected with smoking, but all the more often used as one of the symbols of Cyprus. *Our Allies the Colonies* (illus. no. 267), another poster of the series *The British Colonial Empire* presented a soldier of the Cyprus Regiment. Dark skinned, dark hair, with almond-shaped brown eyes and a slight moustache, the soldier has nothing to show of the determination and self-confidence of the British military man. He gazes rather awkwardly in space, with a half-opened mouth, the white teeth showing through thick lips in sharp contrast to the dark skin, wondering what will be expected of him next. The poster on the one hand showed the multinationalism of the Empire and on the other hand called upon the pride of the members of the extended Imperial family in a way that was nonetheless condescending.

Special artists were employed to produce posters and postcards of Cyprus during the inter-war years for promotional purposes and often for decorating the Cypriot kiosks at the various Colonial and Empire exhibitions. Keith Henderson<sup>511</sup> was one of the best. Born in 1883, a landscape, figure painter and illustrator, he studied at the Slade School and in Paris. He came to Cyprus during the inter-war years and was commissioned to

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<sup>509</sup> John M. Mackenzie: Propaganda and the Empire, Manchester University Press, Manchester and New York, 1986, p. 19

<sup>510</sup> The Cyprus mouflon or agrino, or *ovis ammon*, is the only indigenous mammal of the island, living in the less accessible parts of the Paphos forest. The male has large horns with rings, the numbers of which dictate the age of the animal. See: Christos Georgiades: Nature of Cyprus, Theopress, Nicosia 1984, p. 68, and William Dreghorn: Guide to the Troodos mountains, Zavallis Press, Nicosia 1973, p. 11. Presently, the mouflon is part of the logo of Cyprus Airways.

<sup>511</sup> See appendix.

make illustrations of various views of the island. During his stay he created some charming oils of rather unusual vistas. Impressionistic and pointillist in his style, he captured the atmosphere and conveyed on canvas the strong characteristics of the land and its people. Empty fields, little green, the grey colours of a winter day (illus. no. 268). The medieval Byzantine church of Peristerona<sup>512</sup> with its distinctive five domes in the distance, surrounded by the unpretentious houses of the village by the same name. Children are playing in the wide dry riverbed of the Ana, which is crossed behind them by an arched Venetian bridge. They are walking towards the viewer, coming up to the foreground of the picture like ghosts from a silent background. Little figures in coloured winter clothes, boys and girls, Greeks and Turks, wearing the red fez caps, seem to stare at you but have no faces. The horizontally elongated shape of the painting in juxtaposition with the upright figures of the children emphasises the expanse and stillness of the landscape. What is extraordinary is that the artist has omitted the church steeple and any indication of the mosque and its minaret that lay next to the church. The mosque as mentioned by George Jeffery was in existence in 1918.<sup>513</sup> This cannot be explained as an attempt to exclude the Turkish element from the village because he has presented it in the children, four of who wear the fez that, by that time, was worn only by Moslems. Perhaps he wanted the children to be the only vertical axis in the picture, thus placing the accent on them. Not a soul is seen in the village, not an animal or bird, no further indication of life; only the faceless children in the river bed, in a grey, hazy atmosphere which reminds the viewer of the northern skies from the Scottish background of the artist. The composition is almost haunting...a village lost in time? A generation robbed of its future?

In the same style and re-creating the same still atmosphere, Keith Henderson painted the old town of Famagusta within the walls from the ramparts (illus. no. 269). The ruins of the St Nicolas Cathedral lie in the distance and the church of SS. Peter and Paul<sup>514</sup> is

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<sup>512</sup> The village of Peristerona is on the Nicosia -Troodos road, West of the town.

<sup>513</sup> George Jeffery: A description of the historic monuments of Cyprus, p. 283

<sup>514</sup> One of the largest churches of Famagusta, it was erected during the reign of Peter I (1358-69) by a rich merchant called Simon Nostrano. During the British occupation it was leased by its Turkish owner to the British authorities and used by the latter as a grain store. See: Camille Enlart: Gothic art and the



closer to the walls. The artist was probably situated on the Moratto Bastion, south west of the city. A misty purple outline of the mountains develops into a winter sky while in the foreground a couple of goats on the ramparts near a solitary figure of a Turkish shepherd, identified by the red turban on his head, appear to be the only form of life. The Gothic (cathedral), the Turkish (shepherd and the minaret on the cathedral in the distance), the Venetian (the walls and ramparts) and the Greek Orthodox (SS. Peter and Paul) elements of Cyprus are all present in the composition. The artist chose to safeguard the precious multicultural appearance of the town against the distractions of scenes from everyday life by preserving it in a nostalgic time shell. Keith Henderson died in 1961 in an asylum. It is interesting to note that he was the first artist to exhibit in Cyprus and have a review in the Press about his work. On 12th December 1928 the Greek newspaper *Neos Kypriakos Fylax*, praises the paintings of Keith Henderson and admits that he is the first foreign artist *to have spent time and effort on the island immortalising the character of the Cypriot landscape*. This is indicative of the almost non-existent state of the arts on the island.

In 1922, the Cyprus administration established an office in London in order to co-ordinate and promote the interests of the island especially with regards to commerce. It was first named the Cyprus Trade Commission in London and later became the Cyprus Government Office, most of its work directed by Commissioner Sotiris Terezopoulos. The Office, just like the Empire Marketing Board, issued its own series of posters and advertising material with regards to the products and tourist attractions of Cyprus and in this respect often used as promotional material paintings by artists who were specially commissioned or happened to produce interesting work.

An artist who spent some time on the island and produced a number of paintings of the coast, inland and the mountains of Cyprus was Ethelbert White.<sup>515</sup> His paintings were

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renaissance in Cyprus, p. 246. George Jeffery identifies this church as the Orthodox church of St. Nicolas, built in a style that has little Gothic influence. See: George Jeffery: A Description of the historic monuments of Cyprus, p. 153-4.

<sup>515</sup> Peyton Skipwith: Ethelbert White 1891-1972, A Memorial Exhibition, The Fine Art Society Limited, Dec. 1979: See appendix.

utilised by the Cyprus Government Office in London, for tourist purposes, especially his views of Kyrenia harbour (illus. no. 270). But it is interesting to examine his painting of the church of Peristerona, executed during the same period as Keith Henderson's painting (illus. no. 271). Faithful to his preferences, White was inspired by the Cypriot countryside and in it he merged the people, the farm animals and the monuments. His choice of colours is true to the landscape, strong yellows reflecting the heat, pale greens and shades of brown. The church has its steeple, but painted from the east, the scene does not afford a view of the mosque. Instead, in the right corner behind the figures of a Turkish woman and a peasant, one can distinguish the typical Cypriot coffee shop, with people sitting around under the shade of the extended roofs of the white-washed houses, held by wooden poles. Once again the co existing Turkish and Greek elements are accentuated by the church and the long blue robes of the Turkish woman in the foreground. It is worth mentioning that the village of Peristerona always impressed the traveller and the visitor due to the proximity of its two religious monuments and the strong intercommunal cooperation of the Turkish and Greek inhabitants.<sup>516</sup> It seems that Ethelbert White captured a more realistic aspect of the village while Henderson put more of his emotions and reactions to the history of the place in his painting. However, *The Cyprus coast* (illus. no. 272) in watercolour is totally different, showing the diversity of White's style. In it the artist portrays in strong colours a linear insistence on the rhythm of the landscape, in the development of the hills; a truly *avant garde* picture of Cyprus, and one of the first modernist pictures of an island scene.

From the early days of the century and throughout the inter-war years, the British policy in Cyprus worked towards an attempt at distancing the island from the influence of Greece. The constant requests and petitions of the Greek Cypriots for union with Greece fell on deaf ears. Serious attempts were made to create a Cyprus *identity* on British lines. Various methods and schemes were put into effect in support of this policy in all sectors of the economic, social and even artistic aspects of life on the island. The officials had to manipulate the ethnic identity of the Cypriots in order to combat Greek

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<sup>516</sup> Jack Goodwin: *A Historical Toponymy of Cyprus*, typed, photocopied and distributed by the author, Fourth edition, Nicosia 1984, vol. II, pp. 1343-1344.



nationalism. Their intentions of dehellenization reached far and deep into the soil of Cyprus. Even the archaeological finds of the Swedish Cyprus Expedition, under the directorship of Einar Gjerstad, were tampered with in order to create an identity for Cyprus that was an amalgamation of Near Eastern features and was far removed from any Greek or European roots. In a very interesting article, Michael Given presents the case of the “eteocypriots”<sup>517</sup> and explores the workings of imperial archaeology demonstrating thus that the ancient “eteocypriots” are in fact a twentieth century myth, *an offspring of official imperialist manipulation and prevailing trends in academic fashion*.<sup>518</sup> The British Institute (forerunner of the British Council), played a significant role in the shaping of the new *Cyprus identity*. It was supported by a small community of British expatriates, artists and members of the civil and military service that lived in the small town of Kyrenia, one of the most favoured places by the British in the island. Sir Ronald Storrs, Governor of Cyprus from 1926- 1932, had specific instructions from Leo Amery and other officials of the Colonial Office for *teaching more Cypriot patriotism*<sup>519</sup> and carefully reforming the educational system of the island so as to inspire the new generations with loyalty to the British Empire. Anthony Eden was contemplating the establishment of a British University on the island in order to stop the cultural links with Greece.<sup>520</sup> Within this framework, Storrs organised and inaugurated the first Pancyprian Art Exhibition in 1931 at the Cyprus Conservatory where one hundred and forty four paintings were exhibited. The show included some Turkish and Armenian artists. The idea was to present a picture of Cyprus by an amalgamation of artists and a melange of interpretations. But the public’s response was very mild.<sup>521</sup> The British Institute encouraged joint art exhibitions that included works by British and local

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<sup>517</sup> A theory originated by the Swedish Cyprus Expedition in the 1930’s based on some undeciphered inscriptions, according to which there must be an authentic race called the “true” Cypriots who were “pre-Greek.”

<sup>518</sup> Michael Given: Inventing the Eteocypriots: Imperialist Archaeology and the Manipulation of Ethnic Identity, *Journal of Mediterranean Archaeology* 11.1 (June 1998), p. 16

<sup>519</sup> George Georghallides: Cyprus and the Governorship of Sir Ronald Storrs, The Cyprus Research Centre, Nicosia, 1985, p. 73

<sup>520</sup> Anthony Eden: Full Circle, Cassell, London, 1960, p. 398.

<sup>521</sup> Eleftheria Newspaper, 6th and 9<sup>th</sup> January, 1932

artists. Although more annual similar events were to follow, the experiment eventually failed; by the early 1950's, the Cypriot artists, directed by the escalating political antagonism between the Greek Cypriots and the British, finally abstained from these joint ventures. Out of them though came an interesting number of paintings, topographical and ethnographic, by the British who continued producing work and exhibiting amongst themselves. As for the few works by the local artists, with the exception of one or two, the rest remained in obscurity since they were no longer fulfilling the required purpose. Storrs' attempts towards a *Cypriot identity* extended to his commissioning of architectural drawings for the new Government House by his friend Austen Harrison, including elements from various historical periods of the island, reflecting a variety of cultures. Thus, Government House had a Byzantine dome, Gothic arches, Turkish covered verandas and an interior courtyard (illus. no. 273a, 273b). Parallel to this, the development of local arts and crafts was encouraged with decorative motifs from all periods of the island's history. These were applied to locally made copies of Victorian furniture that were now invading the Cypriot urban homes. The use of furniture increased from the few traditional pieces of coffers, beds and tables to include entrance pieces, commodes, big cupboards and *chaise longues*. Pottery started depicting designs from European models as for example dresser plates with animals and floral decoration. Curtains at Government house were made of locally woven cloth and were embroidered with Crusader motifs. Freya Stark remembered these curtains in a letter to her mother Flora: *You have never seen a house like this. It was built at vast expense after the riots of 1931 and is all a product of the resources, arts and crafts of this island, with the background of the Crusade even in the drawing- room curtains worked in cross-stitch on a peasant-weaving background.*<sup>522</sup>

### ***The Kyrenia Colony***

The British artists formed a small colony at the picturesque fishing port of Kyrenia. In the seclusion of this safe hideaway and under the extended spell of impressionism, they experimented with the light of Cyprus, the colours of the sea and the brilliance of the

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<sup>522</sup> Lucy Moorehead (ed.): *Letters* vol. IV: *Bridge of the Levant 1940-1943*, Michael Russell, Wiltshire, 1977, p. 239



sun. Men and women artists socialised amongst themselves upholding the traditions of their class and race, wandering around the countryside during the day and enjoying their long drinks during the cool hours of the evenings continuing their own conventions. In most cases they kept their distance from the local community; although they used it as the subject matter of their work and observed it with interest yet they were unwilling to mingle with and gain any deeper understanding of the people and their culture.

Perhaps one of the most beautiful series of watercolours of Cyprus during the inter-war years was made by Arthur Legge.<sup>523</sup> Most are dated between 1928 and 1936, indicating the length of the artist's stay on the island. Romantic in his approach and certainly topographical, Legge managed to capture the serenity and colours of the island. The small port of Kyrenia has been represented in many of his works in parts, such as the end of the port where the castle lies, or from a distance that afforded a fuller view of the houses and the fishing boats (illus. no. 274). But Legge exhibited a keen interest in the peoples of the island and included this element in many of his pictures, and in some cases he made it his primary subject matter. One of his watercolours is a rare view of the fruit bazaar near the Selimiye Mosque, otherwise known as Saint Sophia mosque in Nicosia (illus. no. 275). This part of the town was inhabited predominantly by Turks, and the bazaar, or municipal market, still lies south-west of the mosque; once a week, on Fridays, the fruit bazaar was held, when traders came from all parts of the island to lay out their produce. Permanently covered areas were provided by the Municipality for the bazaar, under which the various stalls were squeezed in small individual spaces. The picture vibrates with life and colour. The Turkish population of Cyprus, once again chosen for its exotic effect in quaint and colourful array, fills the scene. Amongst the lemons and oranges piled on the ground in mounds stand Turkish women in their striped long robes, with their heads covered. Men of all ages with fez and turbans wrapped around their heads, high boots and baggy trousers, sitting on the ground or standing around are chatting to each other. On the right side of the picture there is motion, business, while on the left there is another aspect of the life in Cyprus. That of the

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<sup>523</sup> See appendix.

leisured, pensive attitude of *rahat*.<sup>524</sup> The man is sitting at his chair with his legs outstretched, supporting his head with his arm, hardly aware of what is going on around him. More people in the same posture can be seen further down the stalls. Two aspects of life in Cyprus are well exhibited here. The commercial Levantine instinct of the people and the philosophical approach to be found in the Turkish Cypriot tradition. At the far end stands the mosque with its tall minaret dispelling any doubts as to the identity of the people. The scene was what would have delighted the British public; it portrayed the colony in all its exoticism, it fired the imagination as to a different culture and the benefits of warmer climates, the abundance of fruit and the easy life.

In a completely different approach, and with the use of only pencils, Reginald Popham Nicholson,<sup>525</sup> acting Governor of Cyprus for a few months (July-November 1926) and one of the senior administrators on the island chose to portray in a subtler way another Turkish aspect of the island. His drawing is inscribed *Kutub Osman Tekye, Famagusta*, and dated 17 Jan. 1928 (illus. no. 276). By that time he had been relieved from his duties as acting Governor by Sir Ronald Storrs and having more time on his hands he chose to spend it at his favourite pastime, drawing. He was self-taught and his works are mainly landscapes and architectural subjects. The Studio Magazine in 1930 included several of his Cyprus views.<sup>526</sup> The tekye<sup>527</sup> is an eighteenth century building on the outskirts of the old city and belonged to the Dervish sect. Only the rounded cupola of the tekye is visible in the picture, surrounded by a number of trees and bushes. The artist's purpose was not to present the edifice but rather to convey the meaning of the word. A solitary hilltop with the expanse of the sea behind it has on its top a cluster of trees that form almost a shield around and over the tekye, protecting it from the *voyeur* and the passer by. It is as if the artist drew it to understand the site's meaning and wanted to transmit it through the picture. The cypress trees, often to be found around monasteries, both Greek and Turkish, stand upright cutting across an angry winter sky.

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<sup>524</sup> Rahat: doing nothing

<sup>525</sup> See appendix.

<sup>526</sup> Jeremy Wood: *Hidden Talents*, The Country Press Group, West Sussex, 1994, p. 112

<sup>527</sup> Tekye is a Turkish word meaning "solitude" and is used as the English equivalent of "monastery"



Nicholson had to deal with a minor crisis during his time in Cyprus regarding Turkish emigration.<sup>528</sup> This brought him in close contact with the Turkish people of the island where he gained a better understanding of the language and their mentality.

E. Balfour-Allan (illus. no. 277), John Codrington<sup>529</sup> (illus. no. 278), Godfrey de Selincourt<sup>530</sup> (illus. no. 279), Colonel Pain<sup>531</sup> (illus. no. 280), Arnold Pearce<sup>532</sup> (illus. no. 281), H. G. Gray (illus. no. 282-283)<sup>533</sup> and Cecil Arthur Hunt<sup>534</sup> (illus. no. 284), are but a few of the amateur and professional artists that frequented the island during the inter-war years and after,<sup>535</sup> creating a large number of charming and picturesque views of Cyprus. In all the works the landscape dominates the pictures and then ethnography plays a major role, followed by or in conjunction with historical reference in the portrayal of monuments. Many of these artists were members of the London Group: among them Ethelbert White with his rural romanticism and Sir Edward Holroyd Pearce<sup>536</sup> with his strong colours and eccentric treatment of St. Hilarion mountain (illus. no. 285) typify the group's post impressionist leanings. The majority remained influenced by the modernist movement that was appearing in London during these inter-war years; post impressionist lines and heavy paint of strong colours blur the definite outline of objects but remain faithful to the impression and the atmosphere.

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<sup>528</sup> George Georghallides: A Political and Administrative History of Cyprus, p. 416

<sup>529</sup> See appendix.

<sup>530</sup> See appendix.

<sup>531</sup> See appendix

<sup>532</sup> See appendix.

<sup>533</sup> See appendix.

<sup>534</sup> See appendix.

<sup>535</sup> I have come across over 50 different artists who visited and painted Cyprus over those inter-war years. Please see Appendix.

<sup>536</sup> See appendix.

## *Gender and Art*

Women artists made Cyprus their home for short periods or for many years. They were mostly wives of military officers posted in the Middle East, of civil servants on the island, or themselves working for the government. It may be assumed that most of these women were at some stage taught drawing or painting as this was part of every girl's education, along with embroidery and music. Some put their knowledge into effect, others simply expressed their talent, while others, with an artist's eye but not the touch, translated what inspired their vision into words. Etheldred Allen<sup>537</sup> took pains to traverse the whole island and noted meticulously all her impressions in her letters; Dorothea Bates came to Cyprus in search of the pigmy hippopotamus,<sup>538</sup> and left behind her a most interesting diary. Gwendolyn Frere<sup>539</sup> followed her father, Judge Bartle Frere, who was posted in Cyprus from 1898 till 1909. In her personal albums<sup>540</sup> of her years in Cyprus there were some charming watercolours of Cyprus and especially Nicosia in soft colours that reflect the dryness and heat of the island. They record the various neighbourhood churches and views of the towns she lived in, Nicosia, Kyrenia and Famagusta (illus. nos. 286-288).

Gladys Peto<sup>541</sup> followed her husband C. L. Emerson to all his postings between 1924-1928, Malta, Cyprus and Egypt. She was born in Maidenhead in 1890, studied at the local school and the London School of Art and had been a member of the staff of the *Sketch* from 1915 to 1926. Her two books *Malta and Cyprus* and *The Egypt of the Sojourner* published by the Outward Bound Library, describe her life and times in those countries. The Cyprus chapters in the book *Malta and Cyprus* are written in a very personal style. Her frequent use of dialogue creates an intimate atmosphere while

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<sup>537</sup> Etheldred M. Allen: Letters Written during Foreign Travel, Privately Printed, London, 1914.

<sup>538</sup> Dorothea Bates: Journal and Notebooks, 1901-1902, Natural History Museum, London

<sup>539</sup> See appendix.

<sup>540</sup> I am indebted to Mr. John Parker for giving me the albums of Gwendolyn Frere and the opportunity to study her watercolours. The albums that contain photographs and memorabilia from 1898-1904 are deposited at the Leventis Municipal Museum of Nicosia.

<sup>541</sup> See appendix.



“chatty” descriptions often make up for her lack of detailed knowledge of historical events. The unassuming and humorous approach employed in her narrative is reflected in her own illustrations throughout the book. Her style of writing and drawing is influenced by the *Art Deco* movement prevailing during the decade of the twenties in most European capitals. Aestheticism, self-consciousness about style and the simplicity of design characterising this movement led to the development of the graphic arts and the perfection of the black and white illustration. It is this trend that Gladys Peto chose to follow and her illustrations not only relate to and interpret her story but have their own intrinsic value. The original pen and china ink drawings have very little use of watercolour and whenever this does appear it is only in shades of a single colour. They are dominated by delicate curved lines which make figures appear taller and thinner, their postures accentuated in a manner which adds sophistication and idealises the physical appearance. An Oriental atmosphere emanates from most of the illustrations created by the presentation of architectural elements such as minarets and kiosks, costumes and folkloric elements such as the *gourd*,<sup>542</sup> the presence of domestic animals such as donkeys, camels and chicken and plenty of cypresses trees and palm trees. Throughout her illustrations, Gladys Peto presents the Cypriot country folk in their everyday life, the women as the hard working force of the country, the men as exotic and picturesque as they come with their quaint costumes. In *Cottages below Amiandos* (illus. no. 289) a mother carries an infant in one arm, a wicker tray in the other and has by her side a child running after her dressed in rags and carrying a basket on her shoulders. The child is a little girl being trained by her mother to accept hard work; at the background the grandmother is busy at the entrance of the cottage while the master of the house is sitting on the staircase enjoying the sun! The artist used the “picture postcard” approach placing buildings in romantic or picturesque settings, their lines softened by the surrounding shrubs, hills and trees; walls lack formality and are shown crumbling with age and benign neglect. There is nothing monumental or austere about her work.

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<sup>542</sup> Dried gourds were then emptied, decorated on the outer skin with incised local motifs and used for storing wine or water.

Gladys Peto often refers to Cyprus as a country that feels familiar and one illustration in particular does really welcome the visitors *at home* and introduces them to the life of the British officials in Cyprus (illus. no.290). It is titled *The hours after dinner...while the moon shines through the trees and the moths flutter and fall round the hanging lamp* (At the Country Club in Limassol). Apart from the moths and the background of the picture where one can see the tall narrow cypress trees and the flat-roofed houses with shutters, nothing else could suggest to the viewer that this is a scene in Cyprus. The people are certainly British, dressed in the 1920's fashion, with bow-ties and smoking jackets, sipping on long drinks, fanning themselves, seated on comfortable cane armchairs. The decor however is certainly foreign: miniature trees in well-designed wooden pots; an intricate ceiling light probably imported; tall cut glass decanter and tumblers. The servant dressed in a lavish Middle Eastern outfit with a tall fez, much taller than the usual Cypriot one, long pantaloons gathered around the waist and ankles, whereas the Cypriot pantaloons end at the knee or just below, and a very ornate waistcoat with long narrow sleeves. This must be a costume specially designed for the household personnel and is totally foreign to any Cypriot mode of dress. The artist has created a balcony scene representing the British community of the island. It has the air of a stage setting for one of Noel Coward's plays.

Comparing the two pictures one becomes aware of the differences in culture and nationality that the artist has exposed in her works. These differences are precisely articulated suggesting not only colonial attitudes but also the inflexibility of the British with regards to their customary social habits. The club served another purpose; it was an exclusive refuge for the ruling class in Cyprus whenever it wanted to distance itself from the local scene. It provided the maximum possible amenities for an English lifestyle. English newspapers, endless cups of tea, glasses of whisky and relevant games and gaieties safeguarded the traditional habits and etiquette of a more "civilised world." It provided a forum for the exchange of ideas and even business deals amongst the somewhat snobbish foreign community. A club was to be found in every Cypriot town



that hosted a British nucleus, upholding its members' cultural and national distinctiveness.<sup>543</sup>

Although she presents the people of Cyprus in an affectionate manner, the artist cannot help treating them as the "socially inferior race." She draws her own experience when encountering a village woman (illus. no. 291) and titles it appropriately *A curious habit of patting you on the cheek which is rather disconcerting*. Her text often assumes the same attitude. While describing the peasantry being astonished at the hotel balls in Platres, where the upper class enjoyed itself tangoing to the music of live bands, Gladys Peto invokes, in a most condescending manner, a hilarious scene:

*You also find a row of whispering peasants-both men and girls- peering in through the upper windows of the ballroom. They appear to be enormously intrigued with everything. You may even see a donkey there and I am told that a camel has been known to take a peep at the party. Certainly you will see Marikou<sup>544</sup> there, all complete with lamb. It cannot, surely, be good for the lamb to keep such late hours. The balcony at the end of the room is also often occupied by onlookers from the country. Turkish women sit there and peer above the cloak which is pulled across each face.<sup>545</sup>*

The daring artistic attempt to transform the rural life of Cyprus into *Art Deco* images and the successful combination of opposing trends such as the folklore and the *avant-garde* make this artist's work noteworthy of its gender and genre.

*Not a very affectionate mother, but then she had too much on her plate and had to paint for the pot.<sup>546</sup>* Perhaps this is what made Marjorie Ellen Congreve<sup>547</sup> different from the

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<sup>543</sup> Rita C. Severis: With pen, brush and palette, in In the Footsteps of Women, Peregrinations in Cyprus, Cyprus Popular Bank Publications, Zavallis Litho, 1998.

<sup>544</sup> Marikou: diminutive for Maria

<sup>545</sup> Gladys Peto: Malta and Cyprus, The Outward Bound Library, J. M. and Sons Ltd. Temple Press, U.K. p. 239

<sup>546</sup> Galfrid S. Congreve, the artist's son to the author, 1st December 1997

<sup>547</sup> See appendix.

rest of the British ladies living in or frequenting Cyprus in the early years of the twentieth century. Most of them were ladies of leisure with ample time to spend on their hobbies and interests. But Marjorie Congreve had to work. She came to Cyprus in 1933 following her son who was in search of a new job. They stayed in Famagusta for a year, but Galfrid, still unemployed, returned to England. Cyprus mesmerised Marjorie who decided to stay on and was soon joined by her husband. They both lived in Kyrenia where Mr. Congreve was absorbed by his interest in the heraldry of Cyprus, while Marjorie travelled the countryside and painted. She set up a small gallery in the garage of their house where she sold her paintings and produced handicrafts; young Cypriot girls admired her work and she was soon teaching them her methods of weaving and clay modelling. The garage was turned into a workshop with two girls as permanent staff while Marjorie went on teaching and selling their products becoming thus the breadwinner of the family. Her close contacts with the local population rendered her rather unpopular with the British community who, although tolerating the people of Cyprus, made sure that this was done at arm's length. Contacts for them were limited to essential communication for the benefit of an easier and more comfortable life and nothing more. This was the rule and Marjorie Congreve had broken it. She lived amongst her Greek and Turkish friends in a house that had a large yard with a banana tree in the middle and plenty of hens roaming about. Her nickname was *gathourou* the donkey woman, because of her love for this animal. She was very fond of her traditional Cypriot house and she never stopped taking pictures of the various features of the building, admiring the vistas from different points of view. Open windows formed *tableaux vivants* that she captured with her camera and in her memory.

Visits to the local tradesmen were the inspiration for a series of postcards reproduced from her drawings. Six drawings of the weaver, saddle maker, the farrier, the axeman, the woman with the spindle and the local woman at the spinning wheel became the favourite souvenirs of most tourists (illus. nos. 292-297). These were studies of costumes and working tools, of local arts and crafts. She devoted much of her time to representing the elderly country folk of Cyprus in portraits and at work in the most unassuming attitudes and humble surroundings. Their faces appear wrinkled from



hardship, their bodies bent under the weight of everyday toil, their hands heavy and swollen from work, sitting usually next to the hearth looking for refuge, repose and warmth (illus. nos. 298-300). Light permeates her pictures and emphasis is given to the simple architecture of the houses and to their bare interiors. However, the landscape remained Marjorie's true love (illus. nos. 301-303). What was essential to her was to capture the impression and the atmosphere: the strong sun, the shadows and the earthen colours of Cyprus in combination with the shades of the blue sea and the clear sky. The softness of the pastel colours and the misty effect they create reflect the serenity felt by the artist and her love for the country. There are no strong defining lines in her pictures, no dramatic messages conveyed. These are the works of a gentle feminine hand conveying an atmosphere of peace and tranquillity. Luxuriant and strong colours are absent even from her oil paintings as if regarded unfit to be associated with the rural life in Cyprus. What transpires from Marjorie Congreve's pictures is the ability of the female artist to more readily identify and spot similarities between herself and the colonised woman. One may even detect an instinctive feeling of comradeship between them. Marjorie Congreve could have seen her own hardship and heavy burden in the figures of the elderly women she painted so sympathetically. She must have felt equally tired and hard working to appreciate so realistically her local counterpart. She must have felt equally segregated from her own society because of her social attitudes and need to work just as the local woman felt segregated by the attitudes of the ruling British class.

One of the most prolific women artists who lived in Cyprus is Lady Meriel Edith Chenevix Trench.<sup>548</sup> Coming from a family of travellers<sup>549</sup> she found herself in Cyprus in 1937, looking after her mother who suffered from arthritis while her husband Brigadier Ralph Chenevix Trench was director at the War Office. She was evacuated from Cyprus during the War but returned and was to spend her winters in Cyprus and her summers in England until the death of her husband soon after the Second World War. She then decided to live permanently in Cyprus and was there till 1973. She was

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<sup>548</sup> See appendix.

<sup>549</sup> Her mother was the intrepid Victorian traveller Mrs. Pocklington whose travelling adventures are narrated by Charles Chenevix Trench in My mother told me, William Blackwood & Sons Ltd. Edinburgh and London, 1958

taken back to England by her daughter in old age and died in 1977. Lady Chenevix Trench's idyllic landscape watercolours were perhaps the most popular works ever executed in Cyprus. These were the first works by a foreign artist to be accepted and bought by the Cypriots. Perhaps because her work was confined to landscapes it was preferred to picturesque paintings of the Cypriot peasantry. The local taste favoured westernised paintings rather than oriental, exotic or ethnographic subjects. Full of vibrant colour and charm, they were often shown at the Annual Pancyprian Art Exhibitions and at the British Institute<sup>550</sup>(illus. nos. 303-304).

In these works by women artist, Cyprus features prominently as an island ideal for tourism. The themes are rich and varied but the common denominator is the admiration and promotion of what the artists saw: an amalgamation of cultures, ethnographic elements and beautiful landscapes. The two main ethnic groups of the local population are depicted living side by side, distinguishable only by the costumes, within the framework of *Cypriotness*. Social segregation lies discreetly within the separation of the indigenous population from the ruling British class, indicating the colonised and the coloniser. However, this is apparent in only a very few instances, as for example in the works of Gladys Peto. The bulk of the illustrations by women, just as that of the men artists, follow the *Cyprus identity* pattern in representing a mixture of cultures and peoples happily and successfully ruled by the British. I am not insinuating here that all these artists were told how to present Cyprus but rather were influenced to do so under the spell of Imperialist ideals and their benefits to the Empire. They saw themselves in most cases as the *guardians*, or *appreciative admirers* of a country that could not be duly appreciated and promoted by its own population. However, women artists appear to have concentrated on the landscape and peoples and when they did represent monuments they were depicted in a different manner from those by male artists. Just as the landscape was domesticated by the female artist, depicted more intimately and in familiar terms, so were the monuments. In Legge's work, Kyrenia castle is imposing (illus. no. 305); there is strength and stability in Henderson's monuments and there is

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<sup>550</sup> Eleni Nikita: The Art movement in Cyprus from the early twentieth century till Independence, Ministry of Education and Culture, Theopress, 1997, p. 23: the 6th exhibition took place in Easter 1937 (p. 24) : the 7th in April 1938 and the 8th in March 1938 p. 5 and 26.



masculine beauty in Horloyd Pearce's view of Kyrenia with the fearful mountain behind. By contrast Peto mellows her *Kollossi castle* with shrubs and crumbling stonework (illus. no. 306) and the happy girl in front of it. Lady Trench painted *Bellapais Abbey* at the edge of a cliff (illus. no. 307) but it had nothing breathtaking except for its charm, while Caterina Oules's<sup>551</sup> *Kyrenia* is sunk in a sweet nostalgic atmosphere effected by shades of sepia (illus. no. 308). Similarly, women were more sensitive in depicting the local population and show a stronger relation between the artist and the subject: Congreve's old men and women contrasted with Legge's bazaar scene show the difference in approach to the theme. Legge recorded faithfully but remained distant. Congreve associated herself with her people. Male artists did not seem to exhibit such sensitivities, perhaps because they were more concerned to express the power and the authority inherent. Yet, no matter how intrepid and liberated the women artists claimed or aspired to be, from 1878 up to the 1950s, their paintings show that they were still conditioned by the gender and class restrictions and the social conventions of the established ruling elite.

### *The "Israel" Deportation Camp*

It was during World War II that another complication arose on the island. From 1946 thousands of Jews were interned on the island by the British, because they had run the blockade into Palestine. At their peak the numbers of internees were over 31.000. They were perceived as a threat to the local Greek population for fear of changing the demography of the island and thus becoming another stumbling block to their national goal. There was a small Jewish community already living in Larnaca consisting mainly of Russian émigrés who had left with the Russian Revolution, but the influx of Jewish illegal immigrants who saw Cyprus as "Erev Eretz Yisrael" or the Doorstep to the Promised Land, frightened the locals who were divided in their feelings towards the Jews. On the one hand they admired their cause and were helping them to escape especially the left wing parties of Cyprus. On the other hand they were suspicious a large scale colonisation of Cyprus. The Jews were kept by the British authorities in

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<sup>551</sup> See appendix.

camps in the outskirts of Famagusta and Larnaca awaiting their turn to be moved to Israel through the monthly quota agreed to by the British and Zionist authorities. Conditions in the camps were difficult. These people, most of whom had just come from the recently liberated concentration camps of Europe were housed in tin-roofed Nissen huts or tents, surrounded by barbed wire and were guarded continuously. Water shortage, food rationing and total restriction of movement outside the camps did not make life any easier. The internees waited patiently for months to go by till their turn would come for the last part of their voyage.<sup>552</sup>

It was at the Caraolos camp near Famagusta that twenty six internees with an artistic flair each decided to make a woodcut print of their life in the camp. With very primitive tools and rough paper, they produced a series of twenty six pictures and these were run off in twenty six copies,<sup>553</sup> one for each member of the group. The introduction to the prints reads:

*Cyprus is one stop on the painful path to the land of Israel.*

*This stop means for the Jews barbed wires, a sentence to idleness and paralysis.*

*But even under these circumstances there was life.*

*This is what friends in the "Israel" Deportation Camp of Cyprus have brought to light.*

Heavy black printing contrasted on brown paper, in the style of German Expressionism, tells of the *Women in a tent*, *Distribution of water*, *Under the Hupa (a Jewish wedding)*, *Studying the Torra*, *Blessing of the Moon*, *The Mikve (the Bath)* *News from Home* (illus. no. 309-315). Out of these pictures unfolds one more saga of the Jewish people, so well narrated some years later, in *Exodus*.<sup>554</sup> The poor conditions in the camp are well depicted and the barbed wire becomes another two-fold statement. It reflects the power

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<sup>552</sup> Donald S. Birn: *Cypriots, Jews and the British Camps, 1946-1949*, in *Visitors, Immigrants and Invaders in Cyprus*, ed. P.W. Wallace, Institute of Cypriot Studies, Albany University, 1995, pp. 172-179.

<sup>553</sup> *Exile in Cyprus*, album of prints, sold at auction by Sotheby's Tel Aviv, 5. 10. 1993, lot 188.

<sup>554</sup> Leon Uris: *Exodus*, Alan Wingate, London, 1958



of the ruling class to apply discipline, order and segregation; and the absence of any local figures points to the segregation of the subject people who in turn were distancing themselves from a victimised group. The Cyprus Deportation Camps closed down in 1949 with the departure of the last internees.

### *For the love of Art*

In July 1948, another Jewish painter, one of the greatest professional artists to ever visit Cyprus, and with no thoughts of emigrating to Israel, arrived on the island. David Bomberg<sup>555</sup> was invited by his friend Austen Harrison, an architect based in Lapithos village in the Kyrenia district with the firm Hubbard & Brown; the trip was financed by his daughter, Dinora's husband, Leslie Marr. Bomberg, his wife Lilian, Dinora and Leslie Marr set off for a trip that was to prove one of the most productive and successful ventures in Bomberg's career. They were not happy with the accommodation organised for them by Harrison in a monastery near Lapithos, so they rented a house in the village which was no better alternative; throughout their stay they suffered from illness, poor accommodation, bad food, little water and the heat. Yet the Cypriot landscape fascinated Bomberg and he identified with the old resilient ruins of castles to be found in the Kyrenia mountain range. He was approaching sixty and felt that he was now fighting against time. He painted a number of views of his favourite spot, St. Hilarion castle and travelled all over the island immune to the excessive heat and dryness. It could have been his desire to escape from the unhappy memories of the War and his eagerness for a brighter future that were translated into his celebration of the Cypriot landscape, even though Cyprus was itself suffering from political unrest. Paint was lavishly laid on his canvases. *Bomberg's palette had never been more tropical in its insistent use of brilliant ochre, scarlet, yellow and rose madder.*<sup>556</sup> In his painting of *Gate to the Princess' Garden, St. Hilarion*, (illus. no. 316) his brushstrokes solidify the ruins and charge them with energy. Large black strokes work both in accentuating his

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<sup>555</sup> See appendix.

<sup>556</sup> Richard Cork: David Bomberg, Yale University Press, New Haven and London, 1987, p. 277

theme but also in expressing the anger and disappointments of the sixty year old artist. Nature inspired Bomberg and he consciously and carefully translated this inspiration onto the canvas allowing the historical references, such as the ruins to blend into the landscape and become an extension of it. Bomberg's Cyprus scenes are now regarded as among the best examples of his peak period. *He emerged from the subterranean world of his "Bomb Store" pictures and blitzed London cityscapes into the dazzling sunlight of the Mediterranean, and his most magnificent landscapes were executed in Cyprus during a burst of sustained exhilaration.*<sup>557</sup>.

Five years later, Zdzislaw Ruszkowski<sup>558</sup> visited Cyprus. He was to spend the spring of 1953 at his mother-in-law's house in Kyrenia. He executed many paintings during this period with a poetical approach to nature, progressing to rich and intense colours. He was evocative in his use of light, alternating between strong sunbathed views of towns and the use of almost morbidly dark colours seeking to create atmosphere through contrasting tones. But his play with light and his pensive poetical mood was best exhibited in his painting of *Cyprus window, or Interior in Cyprus* (illus. no. 317). The only thing in the picture that can indicate to Cyprus is the green colour of the shutters, a colour often used for windows in Cypriot houses. Then of course there is the light and the strong interplay of shadows, in an atmosphere of pensiveness.

On completely different lines are the pastel works of John Everett, donated to the Cyprus Archaeological Museum by the artist himself in 1950.<sup>559</sup> These pictures are of profound draughtsmanship with strong historical references. Although very realistic in their representation, these are nonetheless confined to only two particular aspects of Cyprus's historical past; that of the Lusignan/Venetian and the Ottoman periods. Everett restricted himself to presenting monuments of the town of Famagusta, such as the Cathedral, the Carmelite church, the fortifications and sea gates of the town but not one, not even the slightest example of a Greek/Byzantine church or an ancient Greek

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<sup>557</sup> *Ibid* p.4

<sup>558</sup> See appendix.

<sup>559</sup> Cyprus Archaeological Museum File 104/35



monument. Plenty of Ottoman evidence is scattered in the paintings. *Hanoums* walking in narrow streets, minarets cutting through the horizon, animals in the foreground; soft, light colours with predominant yellows reflect the heat; altogether these elements create a strong oriental atmosphere. Tranquillity and assurance prevails in the treatment of the houses that blend into the landscape as if they are an inseparable part of it and yet each one has its own independent existence within it (illus. nos. 318-327).

### *Art for Propaganda*

Ernest Whatley was asked to paint a picture for the advertisement of the vines of Cyprus. The island was famous for its wines since the Middle Ages and the British Administration was determined to bank on this product. A panoramic view of the Polemidia vineyards with the Troodos mountains in the background (illus. no. 328) was soon produced. With the opening of the Commonwealth Centre of the Festival of Britain, which was to succeed the old Imperial Institute, an ambitious exhibition of *colonial progress and traditional colonial art*<sup>560</sup> was mounted. In it featured a large diorama of the vineyard painting, and it also circulated as a poster. The monthly magazine *The Cyprus Review* wrote in January 1952: *Exports from Cyprus have reached an all-time record. Figures just issued show that up to the end of last October we had sold abroad goods worth nearly £11 1/2 million... Black and white reproductions cannot alas do more than hint at the glowing colours of these two*<sup>561</sup> *new posters recently issued by the Cyprus Government Office in London. Copies have been distributed widely in Britain and overseas and have met with warm praise...So, through the medium of art, Cyprus makes new friends...* The terraced hillsides forming well-patterned plots of cultivated land unfold behind the primitive road whose edges are defined by a low stoned wall. This is not only for traffic purposes but to prevent animals from entering the cultivated land and grazing in the vineyards. Large woven baskets, *cofines*, are lined up the side filled with grapes and awaiting to be transported to

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<sup>560</sup> *Cyprus Review* May 1951, p. 6

<sup>561</sup> One was Whatley's painting and the other was titled *Visit beautiful Cyprus* picturing a modernised version of Aphrodite with Kyrenia in the background.

the depot by the donkeys. Bent over figures of women in the fields once again testify to the hard labour of the Cypriot female. It is summer, June/ July being the months for gathering the fruit. The sun must be strong for the woman in the foreground is wearing for protection a white kerchief which falls over her shoulders and covers her head and the back of her neck. Her face is sunburnt. People and animals form a rustic scene that borders on the exotic and which compared to another vintage view, that of Grasset D'Orcet of 1878, has nothing of the sophistication and elegance found in the earlier picture. The change in taste and demand after approximately seventy years and the different approach to the same subject by artists of different nationalities and background is evident. Whatley's picture lacks the elegance that dominated Grasset's representation. It is more true to life, seeking to appeal through its ethnographic context. Grasset felt that his drawing had to be invested with beauty in order to appeal to the French salons.

In 1950 the well-established British artist Frank Wootton<sup>562</sup> was invited to visit Cyprus and produce some artwork which would advertise the island. Wootton made a series of six realistic paintings of Cyprus (illus. no. 329) which were reproduced as posters the following year and decorated the Cyprus Commissioner's office in London. He spent six weeks on the island at the same time that the two National Geographic journalists/photographers Jean and Frank Shaw were there. Together they toured Cyprus, met the people and visited the sites. At the end of their visit they were asked by the then Governor Sir Andrew Wright to mount an exhibition of their work in Cyprus and this took place at the British Institute.

Wootton painted some monuments, St. Hilarion castle and Bellapais Abbey; he exhibited some aspects of seaside towns, Kyrenia (illus. no. 330) and Famagusta, but he also made pictures of villages and their inhabitants. The church of the Katholiki at Kouklia village in Paphos has two figures in front of it, that of the *papas* or priest in his long black robes and of a peasant talking to him. The church of St. Antypas in Pyroi village, one of the smallest Byzantine churches on the island, has beside it a peasant

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<sup>562</sup> See appendix.



mounting his donkeys (illus. no. 331-332). These are introductory pictures of the island that could easily have been made into postcards.

*Communalism*<sup>563</sup> begun being carefully promoted by the British Government in the 1940's and *The Cyprus Review*, a local English monthly magazine, always responded to its call. From 1946 till 1956, when it closed down, it was an obvious example of the manifestation of the British policy. During the years 1954-1955, Lawrence Durrell was appointed editor and encouraged these colonial policies to the utmost. The magazine included a section on art that had developed slowly during the years of its publication and was given a tremendous boost under his editorship. In 1947 it gave wide coverage to the Pancyprian Art Exhibition organised at the British Institute which included works by British and Greek Cypriot painters. Olga Raouf,<sup>564</sup> a German émigré married to a Turkish Cypriot doctor (illus. no. 333), Electra Megaw,<sup>565</sup> wife of the Director of the Antiquities department in Cyprus (illus. no. 334), Geoffrey de Selincourt, Colonel Pain and A. Ross-Thomas (illus. no. 335) were some of the British contributors. Ioannis Kissonergis,<sup>566</sup> the first professional Greek Cypriot painter, Telemachos Kanthos,<sup>567</sup> Charilaos Dikaïos<sup>568</sup> and Costas Averkiou<sup>569</sup> participated from the local end in the first exhibitions. A comment in the *Kypriaka Grammata*<sup>570</sup> was disheartening: *The indifference of the public is as always characteristic of the situation. Only five paintings were sold and at very low prices. Who is to be blamed?* The only Cypriot artist that

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<sup>563</sup> The British idea of developing two separate ethnic identities resulting in segregating the population into two communities.

<sup>564</sup> See appendix.

<sup>565</sup> See appendix.

<sup>566</sup> See appendix.

<sup>567</sup> See appendix.

<sup>568</sup> See appendix.

<sup>569</sup> See appendix.

<sup>570</sup> *Kypriaka Grammata (Cyprus Letters)*: year IB, no. 143-144, 1947, p. 196

merited any credit by the British administration was Paul Georghiou<sup>571</sup> and even then his paintings were never used officially by the Government for advertising the island. It was his friendship with Lawrence Durrell that made it possible for him to be accepted by the British public. In 1950 he held a one-man exhibition of his works at Black Hall in Oxford and a few years later Sir Winston Churchill acquired one of his paintings.<sup>572</sup>

In the 1948 August issue of the Cyprus Review there is a review of a painting exhibition by the pupils of the Pancyprian Gymnasium. A similar review is given to an exhibition organised by Turkish Cypriot students in June 1951. Already the two communities of the island were going their separate ways. Lawrence Durrell writing to Freya Stark suggests that the changes he was about to effect in the magazine were intended to make it an instrument of more effective propaganda for the Government: *..later you must send me some pictures and a short article on some Turkish Cypriot subject.....I have been working like a black trying to make our case against the united howls of Enosists, British Pressmen and fact-finding MPs.*<sup>573</sup> In November 1955, the Cyprus Review included articles by Turkish living writers on subjects such as *The Turkish Literary Movement on Cyprus* and *The Death of Hadji* which were juxtaposed with stories written by already deceased Greek writers such as *The Boat* by Alexandros Papadiamantis. The issue paired a dead Greek with a live Turk.<sup>574</sup> Durrell himself attempted to dehellenize Cyprus's classical past and present in his own articles and books. In Michael Given's article *Father of his landscape: Lawrence Durrell's creation of landscape and character in Cyprus*,<sup>575</sup> there is a detailed exposition of Durrell's attempts to declare the Cypriot landscape as basically Anatolian and Gothic and to a far lesser degree Greek and thus associate it in the same degree with the character of the

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<sup>571</sup> See appendix.

<sup>572</sup> *Famagusta Harbour*, 1943

<sup>573</sup> David Roessel: Something to Stand the Government in Good Stead: Lawrence Durrell and the Cyprus Review, *Deus Loci*, NS3 1994, p.41, quoting from Spirit of place, Faber and Faber, London, 1988, p. 126

<sup>574</sup> *Ibid* p. 47

<sup>575</sup> Michael Given: Father of his Landscape: Lawrence Durrell's creation of landscape and character in Bitter Lemons. *Deus Loci: the Lawrence Durrell Journal* 5, 1977.



people. The island's Hellenic past is clearly omitted from his novel *Bitter Lemons* and therefore its Hellenic character is eliminated. Nor does Durrell see any Greek evidence in the civic buildings of the towns, preferring to declare the architectural style of the Pancyprian Gymnasium *based on an early illustration of a Doric temple by Schliemann* rather than admit to its Ionic neo-classical style.<sup>576</sup> When it came to art, his editorial intents and purposes became more obvious. A number of amateur and professional artists were asked to contribute to the Cyprus Review sketches accompanying articles that clearly projected the two separate ethnic identities of the population, in the hope that the building up and projection of the Turkish ethnic identity would work against the Greek community's call for Enosis. Fay Nind,<sup>577</sup> Dorine Van Oyen,<sup>578</sup> Rosemary Grimble,<sup>579</sup> Pat Mullender,<sup>580</sup> Jonathan Abrahams<sup>581</sup> and writers like Adrian Seligman<sup>582</sup> worked mostly on these lines. In the October 1955 issue, Dorine Van Oyen, a Dutch painter who lived in Paris and came to live in Cyprus in 1951, illustrated chapels from the Cyprus countryside in an article titled *Rural chapels in the Troodos mountains* (illus. no. 336). In the Christmas issue of the same year she accompanied her article *The slender bell-towers of Cyprus*, with illustrations of belfries from the various Orthodox churches on the island (illus. no. 337). Jonathan Abrahams, a graduate of the London Central School of Art, who *came to Cyprus with a ruck-sack and sleeping bag and a desire to see and record the island and its life*<sup>583</sup> contributed the front cover of the Cyprus Review issues of January and September 1955. In both cases he represented Turkish scenes, the Iplik Pazzari Mosque and the Khan of the Itinerant Musicians (illus. nos. 338-339). Rosemary Grimble, daughter of Sir Arthur Grimble, a Colonial

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<sup>576</sup> Michael Given: *Deus Loci: the Lawrence Durrell Journal* 5, 1977, p. 4

<sup>577</sup> See appendix.

<sup>578</sup> See appendix.

<sup>579</sup> See appendix.

<sup>580</sup> See appendix

<sup>581</sup> See appendix.

<sup>582</sup> See appendix.

<sup>583</sup> Cyprus Review, January 1955, p. 25

administrator, illustrated Adrian Seligman's article *Travels Among the Turks of Cyprus*.<sup>584</sup> Adrian Seligman was her husband and known on the island for his sympathy towards the Turks. Rosemary Grimble's illustrations represented some of the major mosques and Turkish monuments on the island (illus. no. 340) and formed the counterpart of Dorine Van Oyen's chapel representations. The front cover of the issue was also designed by Rosemary Grimble and was titled *The Hodja and the Holy Book* (illus. no. 341). The cover of the July 1955 issue presented the Greek Andonis Nicola of Omorphita (a suburb of Nicosia) in a traditional Greek peasant costume enjoying his hubble-bubble. Next to him is his cup of coffee; he is seated under a vine trellis (illus. no. 342). The sketch is by Fay Nind. On page 9 of the same issue the artist presented a Turk in his traditional costume smoking the nargileh (illus. no. 343) and the sketch was accompanied by her article titled *Hubble bubbles, symbols of repose*. She writes: *In Cyprus, just sitting is still an art and in many of the coffee shops it is accompanied by the enjoyment of smoking the water tobacco pipe or "nargeeleh."* This is a true representation of oriental culture.

The segregation of the two communities was to be found in the projection of ethnographic characteristics and folklore traditions. Articles with sketches referred to the street vendors, to the famous Greek Lefkara lace, the Turkish kebab, the interior of homes from each of the communities (illus. nos. 344-346). Margot Rampton<sup>585</sup> who lived in Kyrenia and had her training at Syracuse University and at the Sir John Cass School in England, introduced her work to the readers of the Cyprus Review in November 1955; she painted only in oils and mostly portraits. *The character of Cyprus is reflected in the faces of her Kyrenia villagers*.<sup>586</sup> Five portraits were reproduced in the issue three of which were Turks (at the time Kyrenia had the lowest population percentage of Turks): the Mukhtar, (illus. no. 347) the stonemason, the street vendor. Either the headdress or the title of the picture were indicative of the ethnic identity of the sitter.

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<sup>584</sup> *Ibid* February 1956, pp. 12-13

<sup>585</sup> See appendix.

<sup>586</sup> Cyprus Review: November 1955, p. 9



## *The Rise of Nationalism*

By the 1950's tension was escalating and the tune of the British policy changed. A plebiscite organised by the Church in January 1950 on the demand for union with Greece. 96% of the Greek population voted in favour. Faced with the Greek community's agitation and constant demands, the British administration and Government in England replaced the failed efforts for a "Cyprus identity" by clear propaganda aiming at segregating the island's two communities and using both Greeks and Turks, to combat the demand for *enosis*. The British *Cypriotness* plan was being replaced by the propagation of a *bi-communal* identity which, it was hoped, would work once again against the Greek Cypriot efforts for union with Greece and would guarantee Britain the upper hand. By 1955 the political situation on the island worsened and the Greek Cypriots began an armed struggle for liberation which was to lead the country in 1959 to the London -Zurich agreement and the formation of the independent state of the Cyprus Republic. A leading role during all these years of unrest was played by the Ethnarchy in Cyprus. The Archbishop assumed the role of the political and national leader, the Ethnarch who was to lead his flock to liberation and union with the Greek motherland. It was felt that ties with Greece had to be strengthened so as to have a more active support by the Greek nation towards the Cypriot cause. Support did come in all respects, on the political as well as the social plateau.

With the above in mind, the Cyprus Ethnarchy invited an accomplished Greek writer and artist, Athina Tarsouli<sup>587</sup> to visit the island and write and present to the public its social history, boosting its morale and accentuating the Greekness of the island. This was in a way the Greek response to the continuous British efforts of dehellenization. Athina Tarsouli visited the island many consecutive times from 1952-1955 and gathered information for her book. The main interest of this two volume publication entitled *Cyprus*,<sup>588</sup> was the folklore information it offered and the collection of verbal stories

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<sup>587</sup> See appendix.

<sup>588</sup> Athina Tarsouli: *Kypros* "Alfa" I. M. Skaziki, Athens, 1955 (vol.1) and 1963 (vol.2)

concerning customs and traditions that were now recorded for the first time by a Greek. Tarsouli drew sketches of monuments, buildings, characters, landscapes but most successfully, a number of authentic local costumes that were being endangered by the altogether rapid “modernisation” of the dress habits of the Cypriot society. Her drawings are linear with not much detail. But when it came to the costumes, the artist was careful to represent in full detail all the intricacies that distinguished the costume of one district from that of another (illus. no. 348-349). Tarsouli had experience in this matter after having executed sixty-five watercolours of the Greek costumes for the Benaki Museum of Athens in 1941.

The folklore history in the narrative is often translated into drawings within the text making it thus more comprehensible. The author included folklore poetry and accompanied it with relevant sketches<sup>589</sup>(illus. no. 350): Triantafylleni leans over her dying love just as the poem says. The Virgin of Kykko is presented literally to be guarding over the monastery,<sup>590</sup> (illus. no. 351) while the description of a heavily decorated (woven on the loom) piece of textile is accompanied by a colourful depiction that makes the design more obvious<sup>591</sup>(illus. no. 352). Tarsouli’s monumental work was regarded by the Greek Cypriots as the most intense effort in proving that Cyprus and Greece shared a common cultural heritage.

Mohammed Naghi,<sup>592</sup> born in Alexandria, Egypt in 1888, worked on the same lines. He studied law in France and art in Italy and entered his country’s diplomatic service in 1924. From 1937-39 he was the director of the School of Fine Arts of Cairo and from 1939-47, director of the Museum of Contemporary Art. In 1947 he accepted the position of Director of the Egyptian Academy of Fine Arts in Rome. Naghi had close contacts with the Greek and Cypriot community in Alexandria and his marriage to Lilika Tavernaris, a Greek Cypriot strengthened these contacts further. He used to visit Cyprus

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<sup>589</sup> *Ibid* vol. II, p. 340

<sup>590</sup> *Ibid* p. 327

<sup>591</sup> *Ibid* p. 223

<sup>592</sup> See appendix.



every summer after his marriage in 1939 staying at the mountain resort of Platres. There he produced over fifty painting of Cyprus. Naghi was mainly a historical painter, approaching his subject with strong colours and politically minded aggressiveness. Before his death, and while painting his “swan’s song” he wrote to his friend Manolis Yiallourakis: *I consider myself painter of History. For this purpose I went to Cyprus in search of inspiration from the heroic struggle of its people. There I painted ENOSIS. This work is chiefly the result of my unshakeable belief in the right of the Cyprus people and the certainty of its final triumph.* The painting depicts Archbishop Makarios, General Grivas and seven members of the Archbishop’s Council (illus. no. 353). Hard faces and gesticulating figures against a mountainous background and under the icon of the Virgin (right hand corner) project a picture of an aggravated nation whose political, military and religious symbols are all present. The artist died in 1956 and in recent years a museum has been established under his name in Cairo that contains most of his works.<sup>593</sup>

The Greek Cypriots started reacting to the British rule with all their might. The Greek press was calling the public’s attention to the British colonial ingenuity and to the threat against their national integrity. The few local artists inspired by the acute rise of nationalism, the armed struggle for liberation organised by EOKA<sup>594</sup> the loss of lives and heroic deaths put their emotions on canvases. Pol Georghiou produced a series of oils with scenes of the struggle. *The Cypria saga* (illus. no. 354) portrays the British soldiers with proportionately exaggerated military boots- the boots of the suppresser- stepping on a Greek newspaper; priests amongst Cypriots behind barbed wires and, hanging above this crowd, the crucified body of an Eoka fighter. In another painting Georghiou depicted the graves of the executed fighters (buried within the prison grounds) surrounded by faces of mourning mothers, their heads covered with black

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<sup>593</sup> I am grateful to Mr. Valentinos Charalambous for supplying me with the relevant biographical notes on M. Naghi.

<sup>594</sup> EOKA: the Greek Cypriot guerilla fighters, headed by Colonel Grivas, aspiring to *Enosis*-union with Greece.

scarves (illus. no. 355). Christoforos Savva,<sup>595</sup> who returned from his studies at St. Martin's School of Art and Andre Lhote's Academy in Paris, expressed his anger in *The demonstration*, a large canvas depicting people with large panels demanding freedom (illus. no. 356). The style of the art belongs to the British and French schools. In fact, the very first examples of Cypriot art by Vasilis Vryonides<sup>596</sup> (1882-1958), Ioannis Kissonergis (1889-1963) and Adamantios Diamantis,<sup>597</sup> are clearly influenced by the British watercolour school; the local painters did not only follow the British style but also the thematography. They as well turned to ethnographic subjects and oriental representations (illus. nos. 357-358).

In January 1948, Sigmund Pollitzer<sup>598</sup> came to Cyprus for a short visit that was to last for many years. He lived in a shabby retreat in the outskirts of Kyrenia, rather embarrassed from an incident that happened during the War involving him and a group of homosexuals with the police. A similar incident was repeated during his early days in Cyprus, in Famagusta. He was a recluse and saw very few people. In Cyprus *he drew Cypriot objets trouves- sunflowers (he had many growing in his courtyard) gourds, goat skulls and male figure studies.*<sup>599</sup> In June 1954, Pollitzer organised an exhibition of his drawings, sculpture and pottery at the British Institute which was visited by more than 1500 people.<sup>600</sup> In October 1954, Pollitzer painted a cover for the Cyprus Review, which showed a young Turkish boy with a wicker basket and a watermelon, seated on a low stool. Its title was *Ahmet with melon* (illus. no. 359). The following year being more absorbed with objects, he made a monochrome drawing of a Cypriot chair which merited a long description and appraisal by the Cyprus Review: *Sigmund Pollitzer's personal vision of life finds expression here in a forgotten Cyprus chair impaled with a farm implement and adorned with whisks of straw. The object appears in a stark light*

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<sup>595</sup> See appendix.

<sup>596</sup> See appendix.

<sup>597</sup> See appendix.

<sup>598</sup> See appendix.

<sup>599</sup> Christopher Hurst: The view from King Street: An essay in Autobiography, Thalia Press, London, 1997, p. 141

<sup>600</sup> Cyprus Review: June 1954, p. 13



and is precisely executed in monochrome<sup>601</sup> (illus. no. 360). In its last issue, March 1956, the Cyprus Review pays tribute to Sigmund Pollitzer with a four-page article: *A 20th Century mural decoration in Cyprus*. The artist was chosen to decorate the foyer of the new Public Relations Office in Nicosia. He produced a huge mural consisting of 84 plates and 171 tiles locally made and the space covered was 18' x 9' (illus. no. 361). His inspiration derived from the history of the island. A smiling benevolent Sun was designed in the middle and around it a conglomeration of points of historical references from antiquity to the 1950's: Roman coins, churches, masks, figures of Aphrodite, idols and minarets. *I have chosen, for I hope obvious reasons, CYPRVS AETERNA as the title of the decoration. CYPRVS is the Latin word for Cyprus and woven into the design the Arabic, the ancient Greek and the Cypriot syllabic world for Island can also be seen. ...Thus I have sought to combine in one panel a great many elements, in praise of Cypriot art.*<sup>602</sup> This remains the artist's conception of a multicultural island. Sigmund Pollitzer was one of the last artists to work on the island. By 1956 violent troubles in Cyprus were hardly conducive for peregrinating artists. Pens, brushes and palettes were stored away until the 1960's when they were taken up once again by foreign but also local artists.

## CONCLUSION

The British rule in Cyprus started with projecting the island in exotic terms, orientalist features and interesting topography. It proceeded to gradually *civilise* Cyprus and make it attractive to the tourist trade; the landscape was impregnated with attractive Gothic monuments and ethnographic elements that appealed to the academic pretensions of the

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<sup>601</sup> *Ibid* September 1955, p. 19

<sup>602</sup> *Ibid* March 1956, p. 18

British middle classes. This image was put forth with the help of travellers, to begin with through illustrations in their journals and travelogues and then by mounting exhibitions of their artwork (be it professional or amateur) in their homeland. By the 1920's British visitors/artists came to Cyprus with no qualms or hesitation; the island was regarded as an extension of their motherland, where they could easily communicate in their own language and use the same currency. There was already a nucleus of compatriots to welcome them and see them through settling in. It was safe, but most important, it gave them the opportunity of escaping from anonymity. Whether they were respected members of their communities, successful or not in their careers, no matter what they left behind them back home, what skeletons hid in their cupboards or to what extent they were the black sheep of their families, in Cyprus they were members of a privileged ruling class. This alone was strong enough impetus for visiting the place. In time their art or literary works, being proof of their *conquest-achievement*, would reinstate them in their communities, even if only for a short period.

In the inter-war years it was the sun and the sea, the colours of the earth and the landscape that caught the attention of these artists. Impressionist pictures of a peaceful corner of the Empire offering landscapes with a conglomeration of cultures made up the new face of the island. The developed outlook of Cyprus gave the ruling class pride in its achievement and moral justification. The paintings suggested order, tranquility and civility, constituents of progress.

Soon, British political strategies, in an attempt to manipulate the rising *hellenic* nationalism amongst the indigenous population, extended to the mobilisation of art and artists. The response was to be found in the concept of public exhibitions introduced then to the island. Although, in effect, this strategy encouraged the first appearances of local art and artists, it was short lived. The invented cultural identity theme of the Storrs administration could be applied in architecture and in the interpretation of archaeological finds but without local support it could not prove itself successful in art. It was not enough for foreign artists to present in their work a "Cypriot nation" for the British to admire. This had to be created with and be accepted by the local population.



The attitudes of the artists, who chose to observe but keep their distance from the Cypriots (the subject matter) and at most be condescending towards them, did not help.

Finally, in the 1950s, Cyprus became the country of two peoples, the playground of two distinctive cultures and ethnographic representations. The Cyprus Review staff followed the tune of the politicians and colonial strategies were supported outright. The artists - at this point on the pay roll - showed little sensitivity towards the feelings of the local population while exhibiting blind loyalty to the government directives. The island became less and less welcoming and less inspiring. Local opposition to British rule found expression in the canvases of local artists.

The British policies and plans for Cyprus during those fifty years of the twentieth century were characterized by a manipulative imperial attitude that was carefully and subtly exercised on a population in its infancy in politics and diplomacy. It started with trying to inspire blind loyalty to the Empire by inventing a new concept of the nation's identity; failing that, it resorted to tampering with the peoples' beliefs in their past and in their culture; finally to complete the circle, it ended up dividing and ruling. The resilience and conservatism of the Greek Cypriots helped them protect their beliefs and culture. Their obstinacy and immaturity in political affairs led them into difficult situations and often prevented them from choosing easier methods of combat which would perhaps have taken longer to lead them to their desired destination but would have been more successful. The Greek Cypriots fought against Britain and were finally given their independence, forming a unified state together with the Turkish Cypriots; but this was only the beginning of a more tempestuous future since the seeds of divisionalism were already sown.

## APPENDIX

This appendix aims at presenting supplementary biographical notes on artists mentioned in the text and some further collective information on many others named, without claiming to cover all of them. A number of these painters were amateurs for whom I have not been able to procure any information, or are not related substantially with either Cyprus or the subject discussed.

**Jonathan Abrahams:** Born 1925, he studied at the London Central School of Art and after military service in the Middle East, worked for Ealing Film Studios Publicity. He also worked on cartoon films and illustrated magazines. He went to Cyprus in 1954, with a ruck sac, a sleeping bag and a desire to see and record the island and its life. He had a show of his drawings at the British institute in Nicosia in 1955. Worked for the Cyprus Review writing articles, especially about art and illustrating articles by other contributors. (From the Cyprus Review, October 1955, no.10.)

**Francis Arundale:** Born in London in 1807. An architect and topographer; studied under Augustus Charles Pugin, was admitted in the Royal Academy 1829, and in 1831 he went to Egypt to work with Colonel Howard Vyse and Robert Hay in their archaeological investigations making many designs and drawings. Then worked with Frederick Catherwood and Joseph Bonomi and in 1833-34 he visited Palestine, Mount Sinai and Syria. He returned to England in 1840 by way of Asia Minor, Greece and Italy having accumulated a wealth of drawings which he subsequently exhibited at the Royal Academy. Wrote several books but is most known for *Illustrations of Jerusalem and Mount Sinai*, 1837. Arundale died in Brighton in 1853, believed to have contracted a disease from a Pharaoh's tomb which he "inhabited".

(H. M. Colvin: A Biographical Dictionary of English Architects, John Murray, London, 1954,)

**Costas Averkiou:** (1917-1981) Born in Psimolofou, he worked as a carpenter acquiring invaluable knowledge in woodcarving that found expression in his career as an artist. In 1945 he established a workshop in Nicosia and got involved with painting. Participated in many exhibitions and in 1957 he won second prize in the 6<sup>th</sup> International Moscow Festival. In 1963 he was awarded a medal for his participation in the Alexandria bienale. Also participated in the Venice Bienale in 1972. (A.Coudounaris: Biographical Dictionary of Cypriots.)

**Emmanuel Avgoustos:** Came from Greece to teach Art at the Pancyprian Gymnasium of Nicosia. He worked there from 1911 till 1917 and was a teacher to the first local artists amongst which Adamantios Diamantis and Ioannis Kissonergis. He died before 1945. ( The Commemorative folio of the Pancyprian Gymnasium of Nicosia, Nicosia, 1944)



**Henry Backhouse:** Flourished in 1856. Exhibited a landscape at the British Institute. Lived in London. (Christopher Wood: The Dictionary of Victorian Painters, Antique Collectors' Club, Suffolk, 1978.)

**Basil Grigorovich Barskii:** Born in Kiev, in 1701, the third of a family of ten children. His father was a semi-literate merchant. Around 1716 he entered the Kiev Academy but due to a serious ailment on his leg was unable to finish his eight-year circle of studies and in 1723 he left Kiev for L'viv for medical treatment. By then he had a basic education which included knowledge of Slav languages and Latin and the basics of Orthodox theology. He entered the Jesuit Academy and there he experienced the persecution of Orthodox believers by the Uniate Roman Catholic authorities, an experience that was to follow him in his peregrinations and affect his writings. Upon leaving L'viv he set out on foot for the shrine of St. Nicolas at Bari, then visited Naples, Rome, Florence and Venice. From Italy he went to Greece and to Mount Athos. Then on to the Holy Land. Died in 1747. (A. Grishin: A Pilgrim's account of Cyprus, Sources for the History of Cyprus,)

**William Henry Bartlett:** (1809-1854) Topographical watercolourist and illustrator, worked under John Britton. In 1830 he visited the Holy Land, Egypt and Arabia. Then visited America four times and exhibited at the Royal Academy in 1831 and 1833. Member of the New Watercolour Society. He died on one of his journeys between Malta and Marseilles. (H. L. Malalieu The Dictionary of British Watercolour Artists Antique Collectors' Club, Suffolk 1986.)

**Ferdinand Bauer:** Of Germanic birth who made England his adopted country. His father, who lived at Feldsberg, Lower Austria, and was the court painter to Prince Liechtenstein died leaving three sons in infancy. Father Norbert Boccius, Abbot of Feldsberg looked after the education of the children and directed them towards botany and flower painting. Ferdinand was then engaged by Nikolaus von Jacquin in Vienna. In 1784 he was recommended to Dr. Sibthorp and joined him in his travels to the Middle East. In 1800 he accompanied Mathew Flinders on his trip to Australia at the request of Sir Joseph Banks. He returned to England five years later having baptized in Southern Australia a cape after his name, Cape Bauer. He died in 1826. (Winifred Blunt and William Stern: The Art of Botanical Illustration, Antique Collectors' Club, Suffolk, 1995.)

**Don Domingo Badia-y-Leyblich alias Ali Bey:** Born in Barcelona on 1<sup>st</sup> April 1767, of Catalan origins. His father was a government employee and his mother was Caterina Lebllich from Wabria. In 1786 the family moved to Madrid. He had many scientific interests especially in Astronomy and Geometry and when he was asked to participate in a government mission to North Africa he was only too pleased to do so. He traveled all over the Middle East under the assumed name of Ali Bey el Abbassi, presenting himself as a Moslem dignitary, the son of Othman Bey of Aleppo, prince of the Abbassides, directly descended from the uncle of Mohammed. He dressed in oriental clothes and spoke Arabic fluently. Renown for having recorded practically every aspect of life in the countries he visited. Died in 1818. (Ali Bey, un pelegrí Català per Terres de l'Islam, catàleg Museu Ethnològic de Barcelona, Proa, Barcelona, 1996.)

**The Hon. A.Y. Bingham:** Lived in London but traveled all over the world. He exhibited two works at the Royal Academy in 1844. (Christopher Wood: The Dictionary of Victorian Painters.)

**David Bomberg:** Born in Birmingham in 1890. His father was a Jewish leather-craftsman from Poland. In 1895 the family with its six children moved to Whitechapel, London. He studied at the Tenter Buildings and at the Guilds Institute. In 1911 he entered the Slade School of Art where he won several awards. He visited Paris, founded the London Group and had many one-man shows while also participating in group exhibitions. Bomberg traveled to Palestine and settled in Jerusalem till 1927. Following his return to London he visited Spain, Morocco and the Greek islands. In 1933, he and Lillian Holt joined the Communist party and visited Russia for five months. The artist suffered from long periods of depression that often affected his work. Married Lillian in 1941 and had one daughter, Dinora. Bomberg died in 1973 in London. (Gill Polonsky, David Bomberg, B. Jacobson Gallery catalogue, 1990).

**Leon Bonnat:** (1843-1922) Born in Bayonne, a portrait and landscape painter belonging to the French School. He first appeared at the Salon in 1857 with three portraits. Traveled to Spain and Rome and the Orient in 1870. There was great controversy over his colouring, which critics found daring, but Bonnat persisted. He was awarded the medal of the Salon in 1869, made Chevalier in 1867; he was proclaimed member of the Institute in 1881 and donated to his birthplace a wonderful museum full of his own personal collection of works of art. (E.Benezit: Dictionnaire des Peintres...).

**Hercules Brabazon Brabazon:** (1821-1906) Landscape and still life watercolourist, born in Paris and educated at Trinity College Cambridge where he read Mathematics. He studied Art in Rome under J. H. d' Egville and A. D. Fripp. Traveled to Spain, Egypt and India. One of the original members of the New English Art Club. (Christopher Wood: The Dictionary of Victorian Painters.)



**Cornelius de Bruyn:** A Dutch traveler and painter who spent some years between 1678 and 1685 in the Levant, eventually returning to the Netherlands in 1693. He was primarily a landscape artist and this manifests itself in several panoramas. (Sotheby's catalogue of the Library of Henry Blackmer, 11-13 October, 1989)

**Louis François Cassas:** Born in Azay-le-Ferron in 1756, died at Versailles in 1827. He went to Tours in 1770 to apprentice with Jean Cadet de Limay. The latter introduced him to Aignan-Thomas Desfriches who became his life long friend and counselor. Cassas entered the Academy of Rohan Charbot in Paris in 1775 and visited often the studios of Jean-Jacques Lagrenée le Jeune and Jean-Baptiste LePrince. Cassas made his first trip to Italy in 1779-1783. Some years later the French ambassador to the Porte invited him to make a trip to the Ottoman provinces and illustrate the East. In 1791 he married Seraphina Corfetti and by the end of the year he had his first son Hippolyte and returned to Paris where he worked on his engravings from the trip to the East. In 1806 he opened *La Galerie de M. Cassas* where he exhibited and sold his works. By 1816 he was appointed inspector and professor of design at the Royal Factory of Gobelins and in 1821 he was decorated Knight of the Legion of Honour. His works and portfolios were sold by public auction after his death in 1878. (Louis François Cassas: Musée des Beaux Arts de Tours exhibition catalogue.)

**Luigi Palma di Cesnola:** Born in 1832 in Piedmont, Northern Italy, he joined the Savoyard army at the age of 15 fighting for the unification of his country. Entered the Savoy Military Academy but committed a blunder that forced him to leave Italy. He traveled in the Mediterranean and the Middle East before visiting New York in 1858. There he married Mary Reid and enlisted in the Fourth New York Cavalry that saw action during the early days of the Civil War. As a reward he was offered the post of the American consul to Cyprus where he arrived in 1865. Upon returning to New York and thanks to his archaeological escapades, he was appointed first director of the Metropolitan Museum where he exhibited his antiquities collection. At that post he stayed till his death in November 1904. (Stuart Swiny: Forward to: Cyprus, its ancient Cities, Tombs and Temples, Reprint, Star Graphics, Nicosia, 1991)

**John Codrington:** Visited Cyprus on several occasions. He first came to the island via Greece in 1921 and then 1923, 1933, and 1968. He painted in watercolours and mostly landscapes. (From notes in the artist's folio)

**William Robert Collyer:** Arrived in Cyprus in 1884. Appointed British delegate to Evkaf. Made Queen's Advocate 1885. He was Warren's defense advocate in the Frangissa trial in 1885. Amateur artist. (Michael Given archives)

**Marjorie Congreve:** Born in Essex 1885, she came from a well-to-do family of stockbrokers. Studied painting for six months in Paris but had no further formal training. Married Galfrid Congreve in 1908 and moved for a few years to Alberta, Canada, where she had her three children. Returning to England five years later, her husband joined the army during the First World War and Marjorie began a small handicraft business near Brighton. In 1932 she travelled to the Middle East and followed her son to Cyprus where she stayed till 1948. In 1948 she moved to Sussex involved in the Sussex RSPCA treating donkeys. Died in 1972. (Information kindly provided by the artist's son, Mr. G. S. Congreve.)

**Hermannn David Solomon Corrodi:** Born 1844 in Frascati Italy, he was the son of an artist. He studied in Rome and married an English lady in 1876; when not travelling he spent his time between Rome, Baden-Baden and Hamburg where he had homes. Through his wife's contacts he was appointed tutor to Princess Alexandra of Wales, sister of George I of the Hellenes. In Hamburg he met and became friends with Kaiser Wilhelm I. He traveled extensively to the Middle East and was made Professor at the C. Luccia Academia. A fire burnt his studio in 1897 with very few works surviving. He died in Rome in 1905. (Tieme and Becker Dictionary of artists.)

**Lieutenant Colonel R. C. Coveny:** In the Military force in Cyprus acting also as a special correspondent for *The Illustrated London News* where he signed as R.C. Followed Colonel Donisthorpe Donne to Egypt where he died in January 1885 in battle as a member of the Black Watch. He signed his sketches R.C. which stood for Richard Caton Woodville. ( Alan Harfield: The diaries of Donisthorpe Donne and Christopher Wood: The Dictionary of Victorian Artists.)

**Richard Dadd:** Born in Chatham in 1817 was educated at the William Dadson's Academy. He became friend with Roberts and C. Stanfield who recommended him to the Royal Academy School in 1837. There he became a member of the "Clique" along with Frith, Egg, and Henry O'Neil. In 1842 he left England for a tour to the Middle East where the first symptoms of his mental derangement appeared. Upon arrival back to London he murdered his father, fled to France but was captured two days later. He was admitted to Bethlem hospital where he was encouraged to take up painting again creating a series titled *Passions*. He died in the asylum in 1864. (Gerald Ackerman: Les Orientalistes de l' Ecole Britannique.)

**The Rev. Edward Thomas Daniell:** Born in London on 6th June 1804, he was educated at the Norwich Grammar School under the classical scholar Valpy, and had as his drawing master John "Old" Crome. Studied classics at Balliol College Oxford, a great friend and admirer of Linell and Blake with whom he exchanged notes, had lessons and long discussions on art. In 1829 and 1830 Daniell traveled to the Continent. In June 1833 he was ordained priest of the Norwich Cathedral. Daniell was a friend of Turner, Mulready, Dyce and Roberts who all frequented his house. David Robert's sketches of the East led him to the decision to travel to Corfu, Athens, Alexandria, Mount Sinai, Palestine and Beirut. His sketches



indicate his exact route. In 1841 he participated in the expedition of the removal of the antiquities discovered at Xanthus by Sir Charles Fellows. Daniell took part in the excavations at Lycia where he died from fever on September 24th 1842, at the age of 38 and was buried beneath an ancient granite column in the court of a Greek church in the centre of the town of Adalia. (F. R. Beechey: E.T.Daniell, a Memoir)

**Jacques Georges Demeules:** Born at Versailles in 1886 from Swiss parents that returned to Switzerland in 1897 and lived in Lausanne running a hotel. After his studies at Lausanne in Civil Engineering he joined an archaeological mission to Cyprus where spent three years and returned to Switzerland to join the army during World War I but was soon discharged. Upon his return to Cyprus he married Renée Zirigovich in 1919 and had three sons. He worked as a teacher at the American Academy. He moved with his family to Alexandria in 1932 where he continued teaching French to the Greek community. During the Nasser regime all the family moved back to Switzerland. He loved painting and writing; participated in local exhibitions in Cyprus and wrote articles about the island in the Swiss press. His paintings are topographical and portraits in oils, watercolours and pencils. Often he used them to illustrate his articles. He died in Switzerland in 1976. (Information kindly supplied by the artist's son Mr. René Demeules).

**Adamantios Diamantis:** One of the first Cypriot artists to have studied Art in England, born in Nicosia in 1900, he studied at the Pancyprian Gymnasium, the English School. In 1920 he went to London where he studied at the Regent's Polytechnic and St. Martin's School of Art. He was friend with Henry Moore, Barbara Hepworth and Percy Horton. He returned to Cyprus in 1926 where he worked as an art teacher at the Pancyprian Gymnasium and exhibited great interest in ethnography. He was director of the Folklore Museum of Nicosia, organised many exhibitions and won many awards. (Eleni Nikita: Adamantios Diamantis, The Bank of Cyprus Cultural Foundation, Athens, 1998.)

**Charilaos Dikeos:** Born in Nicosia, studied architecture at the Beaux Arts School in Paris and followed lessons in painting. He has had many one-man shows in Cyprus, Athens and Paris. (A. Coudounaris: Biographical Dictionary of Cypriots.)

**Benjamin Donisthorpe Alsop Donne:** Born in London in 1856, educated at Wellington College; he continued his education at Sherborne School Dorset and then Sandhurst. He travelled to Germany and Switzerland in 1876 while waiting for orders from the army as to his posting. He served in the West Indies and Jamaica followed by Malta and finally in 1880 Cyprus. Spent ten years in Egypt and South Africa, died in September 1907 in England. Donne exhibited in 1895-1905 at the Royal Society of British Artists and at The Dudley Gallery. When he retired he lived in Putney and then Chichester. (Alan Harfield: The Diaries of Donisthorpe Donne.)

**Ioannis Doukas:** (1838-1916) From Epirus, he studied Art at the Munich Academy and then went to Paris to the studio of Gerome. His paintings are mainly portraits in oils and are exhibited at the National Gallery of Athens. (Stelios Lydakis; Dictionary of Greek Artists and Engravers).

**Alexander Drummond:** British vice-consul at Alexandretta from 1751; British consul to Aleppo 1754-56 who worked closely with the Levant Company. Spoke English, French and Italian. He published his reminiscences in the form of letters to his brother. Died in 1769. (British Dictionary of National Biographies).

**Paul-L. Durant:** painter, draftsman and engraver of the French School, working at the end of the nineteenth century. (E. Bénézit: Dictionnaire des Peintres...).

**Edmond Duthoit:** Born in Amiens in 1837. His father Aime was a decorator, his uncle Louis a sculptor. Edmond studied at the Jesuit college of Brugelette in Belgium, in Saint Clément in Metz and in Amiens as a designer of religious buildings. In 1857 he joined the studio of Viollet-le-Duc and became one of his most promising students of architecture. Under Viollet-le Duc's supervision he decorated theatres, museums and designed churches in the Gothic and Neo-Byzantine styles. He travelled to Algiers, Egypt and the Levant accumulating a plethora of sketches. Was decorated by the Sultan with the Order of the Medjidie for his services to the Porte (he collected the old cannons from the Dardanelles). He decorated many churches, restored grand mansions and castles and was one of the most well known decorators in Amiens where his studio is still on public view. He died in 1889. (Edmond Duthoit: Un Amiénois en Orient: Edmond Duthoit.)

**Tristram Ellis:** (1844-1922) London landscape painter and watercolourist. He worked at the District and Metropolitan Railways as an engineer and then embarked on extensive travels to the Eastern Mediterranean from where he was inspired in his work as an artist. He exhibited at the Royal Academy, the New Watercolour Society and the Grosvenor Gallery. (Christopher Wood: Dictionary of Victorian Painters).

**Ellenborough Digby Jane:** (1807-1881) known as Jane Digby el-Mezrab, adventurer, watercolourist and linguist. Daughter of Rear- Admiral Henry Digby, second wife of the Earl of Ellenborough who divorced her on grounds of adultery. She had a scandalous life all over Continental Europe; married Spyros Theodoki, a Greek from Corfu, divorced and ended up in the Syrian desert married to a tribal chief el Mezrab. She had six children all of whom died. She visited Cyprus for a short period staying in the Troodos mountains. (Billie Melman: Womens'Orients and Mary S. Lovell: A Scandalous Life.)

**Camille Enlart:** Born in Boulogne-sur-mer in 1862, son of an old Picard family. Studied foreign languages and learnt to draw at the Ecole des Beaux Arts in Paris. In 1885 he enrolled at the Ecole des



Chartes. He then went to Italy and in 1903 he was appointed curator of the Musée de Sculpture Comparée at the Trocadero. Decorated Chevalier de la Légion d' Honneur in 1910 and became member of the Académie des Inscriptions et Belles Lettres in 1925. He was an archaeologist, draughtsman and photographer using all these skills during his trips to the Continent and Cyprus. He died suddenly in 1927 leaving behind him many publications on the monuments of the regions he visited. (Nicola Coldstream: Introduction: Camille Enlart and the Gothic Architecture of Cyprus in the reprint of Camille Enlart's: Gothic Art and the Renaissance in Cyprus, Trigraph, London.)

**Gwendolyn Frere:** Daughter of District Judge Bartel Frere, who came to Cyprus in 1898 staying at Ridge House in Famagusta. She helped her father in his social duties and traveled around the island extensively painting in a miniature-style. She was very fond of horse riding and tennis. (Album of Memorabilia belonging to Gwendolyn Frere)

**Pol Georghiou:** Born in Famagusta in 1901, read law in England. He was a self-taught artist who created his own style. His subjects stemmed from the Cypriot life and religion. Was much influenced by the poverty of his country and by the struggle for independence. Many of his works were devoted to this theme. He was encouraged by Lawrence Durrell to exhibit in England that he did with great success. He also exhibited in Holland the United States and France. He died in 1972. (Ministry of Education: Pol Georghiou, Nicosia, Cyprus)

**Lieutenant Allan Gilmore:** Of the 61<sup>st</sup> South Gloucestershire Regiment in service in Cyprus. Appointed local Commandant of the Military police in Nicosia on 28<sup>th</sup> August 1878. Then became Commandant of the Military police in Limassol (August 1879) where he remained in the house of Hadji Nicolas in Albert street. He worked as a special correspondent for various magazines sending sketches and articles about Cyprus. (Michael Given archives).

**Claude Sosthène Grasset:** Born in June 1828 at Aurillac. His father was Mayor of Mauriac where he grew up. Studied Law in Paris and was introduced to the arts at the studio of the sculptor Elias Robert. Being well off and having inherited a considerable fortune from his father, Grasset made a long tour of Europe and the Mediterranean which lead him to the island of Cyprus in 1860 where he decided to remain and make his home. He married Aimée Laffon, daughter of Bernard Laffon a French doctor of medicine in the French army who had retired in Nicosia. In 1868 he left Cyprus rather disappointed for not having achieved an important post amongst the French community in Larnaca and returned to France where he tried hard to enter intellectual circles. While in Cyprus and France as well, he wrote articles about the island, often illustrated by his own sketches. He believed himself to be an authority on the subject of the wines of Cyprus. (Information collected from various French magazines and reports where Grasset's articles were published. Also from notes from Olivier Masson's archives.)

**H. G. Gray:** Watercolourist who gave painting lessons to British expatriates in Kyrenia. He was one-eyed and impoverished. Was forced to leave Cyprus in 1956. (Information kindly supplied by Mrs. Susan Simpson friend of the artist.)

**Rosemary Grimble:** Born in Tarawa in Gilbert and Ellice Islands in the Pacific, where her father Sir Arthur Grimble, well-known Colonial Administrator, was serving. She trained at the Central School of Arts in London and worked at the Ministry of Information, the *Picture Post* and the *Housewife*. She traveled in Europe, the Caribbean and the Mediterranean including Malta where she married Adrian Seligman. Later worked with broadcasting at radio and television. She hardly ever uses colour in her drawings, preferring linear black and white sketches, sometimes using only ink. (Cyprus Review)

**Nicolaos Gyzis:** (1842-1901). Born in Greece but lived most of his life in Munich where he was made a member of the Munich Academy. Followed the German school of Art being a realist in his works. After 1876 he became an ethnographic artist producing large canvases depicting scenes from life in Greece. He exhibited in Munich, Paris, and Nuremberg. He was awarded the Gold Medal of the Berlin Academy in 1877. Regarded as one of the most illustrious Greek artists. (Stelios Lydakis: Dictionary of Greek Artists and Engravers.)

**James Duffield Harding:** (1798-1863) landscape painter and lithographer; exhibited with the Watercolour Society from 1818. He brought lithography to perfection inventing litho-tinting and introduced tinted paper for sketches. Published books and manuals on Art. (H. Mallalieu: Dictionary of Watercolour Artists)

**John Hawkins:** (1758-1841) author, FRS; traveled in Greece and the East and contributed to the *Flora Greaca* and Walpole's *Memoirs of European and Asiatic Turkey* and *Travels to the East*. (D.N.B.)

**William H. Hawkins:** Born 1845, son of William Hawkins of Great Berkhamstead in county Hertsford. He apprenticed at William Cooper for many years. Came to Cyprus in 1897 and was appointed superintendant of the Government Printing Office. Due to a drinking problem he was soon in trouble. Married a local girl and returned to England to Woodland Villa, Fraser Rd. Walthamstow, Essex. He died shortly after, in 1901. He played the piano, was an amateur painter and had good connections in the Court circles. (information kindly supplied by the artist's descendants.)



**Francesco Hayez:** Historical painter, born in Venice 1791, died in Milan 1881. He studied Art under Zanotti and Maggiotto. He was a professor at the Academy of Milan. His talent in portrait painting was great and much acknowledged by the public who sought his work eagerly. (E. Bénézit: Dictionnaire des Peintres.)

**Keith Henderson:** Born 1883. Landscape and figure painter and illustrator. Studied at the Slade School and Paris. He exhibited at the Royal Academy, Royal Institute, etc. He lived in London till 1930 and then moved to Inverness. (Christopher Wood: The Dictionary of Victorian Painters.)

**Cecil Arthur Hunt:** Landscape painter, born in Torquay 1873. Educated at Winchester and Trinity College Cambridge. Elected A.R.W.S. and R.W.S. in 1918 and 1925 and was a member of the R.B.A. from 1914 to 1921. He lived in London and South Devon but travelled often to the Continent and the Mediterranean. He came to Cyprus in 1910. Died in Birnham in 1965. (Christopher Wood: The Dictionary of Victorian Painters.)

**Holman Hunt:** Historical painter, born in London 1827 and died in 1910. One of the leading figures of the Pre-Raphaelite School. He studied at the Royal Academy Schools. Travelled to the Middle East, had many exhibitions, was member of the Royal Academy and honorary member of the Society of British Artists. (Christopher Wood: Dictionary of Victorian Painters)

**Telemachos Kanthos:** (1910-1993). Born in Alona village Cyprus, studied at the Athens School of Art and taught Art at various schools on the island. He was a painter in oils, watercolours and an engraver and etcher. He exhibited in Cyprus and abroad and won many awards for his works. His landscapes capture the light and colours of the island. He was in close contact with artists abroad. (A. Coudounaris: Biographical Dictionary of Cypriots.)

**Ioannis Kissonergis:** (1889-1963). Born in Nicosia, he went to Athens to study Medicine but the Balkan Wars interrupted his education. He joined the Red Cross and worked at Salonika. Did not pursue Medicine after the Wars but took up Art lessons at the Athens School of Art. Suffering from tuberculosis he returned to Cyprus unable to finish his studies and was appointed Art teacher at the Pancyprrian Gymnasium, in Nicosia in 1916. From 1936-1952 he taught at the English School, participated in some exhibitions organised by the Government and then left for South Africa where he died in 1963. He is regarded as an ethnographer and topographer, and through his works unfolds a panorama of how Cyprus was in the early twentieth century.

(Bank of Cyprus Cultural Foundation: Ioannis Kissonergis, Nicosia, 1992.)

**Michael Koufos:** Came to Cyprus from the island of Calymnos in 1875 and was a teacher of Art at the Limassol School, (1899-1901 and 1911-1912). He had his own studio where he gave private lessons. He

went back to Greece in 1903 and studied under Lytras and then to Munich for a year. Returned to Athens in 1904 where he specialised in portrait painting. Re-visited Cyprus in 1911 and stayed for some years. His exhibition at Zenon Skyrianides' bar was the first organized Art exhibition in Cyprus. He remained on the island till 1912. (Stelios Lydakis: Dictionary of Greek Painters and Engravers and C. Pilavakis: Limassol of times past.)

**Nicolaos Kounelakis:** (1829-1869). His family left Greece when he was ten and moved to Russia. He studied Art at St. Petersburg, Rome and Florence, where he worked for ten years. Spent the last years of his life in Cairo. (Stelios Lydakis: Dictionary of Greek Artists and Engravers.)

**Jean Jacques Lagrenene:** Born in Paris 1739 died in the same city 1821. He lived in Russia for a few years when young, worked in Rome and then joined his brother in Paris. He had a remarkable talent for designs of great detail, working on canvas, wood and glass. He was attached to the Sèvres factory, where he executed many floral and arabesque designs. He became member of the Academy in 1775, professor in 1781 and exhibited many of his works at the Salon between 1771-1804. (E. Bénézit: Dictionnaire des Peintres...).

**Augustus Osborn Lamplough:** (1877-1930). North Africa and Venetian architectural painter who studied at the Chester School of Art. Later he lectured at Leeds School of Art. From about 1902 he concentrated on North Africa and in particular Egypt. Lived in North Wales. Had various exhibitions in London and at the Fine Art Society in 1917. (H. H. Malalieu: The Dictionary of British Watercolour Painters.)

**G. H. Lane:** in the 101<sup>st</sup> Regiment Cyprus. (The Illustrated London News 1878)

**Arthur Legge:** Landscape painter. Exhibited at the Royal Academy, Suffolk Street and the New Watercolour Society. Lived at Doncaster and then Exeter; he was head of the West Hampstead School of Arts and Crafts. (Christopher Wood: The Dictionary of Victorian Painters.)

**Jean Baptiste LePrince:** Historical, portrait and landscape painter, born in Melz 1734, died in Lagny 1781. Studied in Melz and Paris under Francois Boucher. In his landscapes he was a conformist and a realist. He worked with engraving in the most delicate manner, using subjects from the countryside. While travelling to Russia he was captured by pirates and robbed of all his work. He did many paintings of life in Russia and was much interested in the exotic and picturesque which he introduced in his work at the Academy in 1765. Despite voices of criticism, the French public raved over the innovative works of LePrince. (E. Bénézit: Dictionnaire des peintres...).

**Nikiforos Lytras:** (1832-1904). Regarded the "father of Modern Greek Art", he studied at Munich and



then taught at the Athens School of Art. He travelled to Turkey and Egypt where he was influenced by the Orientalist thematography. His art is realistic and ethnographic, his themes from village life in Greece.

(Stelios Lydakis: Dictionary of Greek Painters and Engravers.)

**Major Hugh McCalmont:** (1845-1924). Born in Ireland and educated at Eton, he joined the service in 1865; 7<sup>th</sup> Hussars. Posted in Turkey, Erzerum in 1877. He served under Wolsely as his ADC during the Red River expedition and the Ashanti War in 1873-4. He retired in 1903 to Ireland. Talented musician and excellent piano player (Michael Given archives).

**Hans Makart:** Born in Salzburg 29th May 1840, studied at the Academy in Vienna graduating in 1858. From 1866 he exhibited in Munich, Paris, London and Italy. Having established a reputation, he was invited by the Austrian Emperor to work for him. Amongst other assignments he decorated the Musée des Beaux-Arts in Vienna. Died 3rd October 1884. (E. Bénézit: Dictionnaire des Peintres...)

**John Baptist Malchair:** Watercolourist and engraver born in Cologne 1731 and died at Oxford 1817. He belonged to the British School of Art, specialising in small landscape paintings. He exhibited at the Royal Academy 1773. (E. Bénézit: Dictionnaire des Peintres...)

**Constantine Maleas:** (1879-1928). He first studied architecture in Constantinople and then Art in Paris. Travelled extensively in the Middle East before settling in Greece. His work shows impressionistic and expressionistic concepts and elements from the Art Nouveau. (Stelios Lydakis: Dictionary of Greek Painters and Engravers)

**Benjamin Mary:** Born in Mons, Belgium in 1792, studied at Enghien and the University of Brussels. Was elected member of Parliament in 1831 and entered the diplomatic service in 1832, being appointed Belgian ambassador to Brazil. In 1839 he was appointed Commissioner to Greece where he did not conceal his preference towards the party of Ioannis Colettis and his disapproval of the party of Alexander Mavrocordato, who was backed by English support. His obvious prejudice caused his removal from this position, camouflaged by a nervous illness and sick-leave in 1845. Subsequently sent to Paris, he became an embarrassment to his Government and was recalled. Retired in Bagnères-de-Louchon, near the French-Spanish boarder, undergoing therapy until his sudden death on 2 August 1846. (Costas Stavrou: La Grèce Nouvelle.)

**Luigi Mayer:** Painter of Italian origins who worked at the end of the eighteenth century. He was working for Sir Robert Ainslie in Constantinople and illustrated his books *Travels in the Ottoman Dominions*. Married to Clara Mayers, also a painter. (E. Bénézit: Dictionnaire des Peintres..)

**Electra Megaw:** Of Albanian descent, first came to Cyprus in 1936 where her husband Peter Arthur Megaw was appointed Director of Cyprus Antiquities. She studied Art at the Slade School in London and specialised in botanical painting. Her collection of watercolours *Wild Flowers of Cyprus* was donated by her to the Bank of Cyprus Cultural Foundation in 1987 along with a number of folios of the same works published in England. She died in Cyprus in 1992. (Information supplied by the artist.)

**Antoine Montfort:** Antoine Monfort (1802-1884) was a student of Horace Vernet and Gros. He travelled in the Mediterranean for two years (1827-29) and returned in 1837 to live in a tent amongst the Arabs in Lebanon and Palestine. (E. Bénézit: Dictionnaire des Peintres..)

**Pat Mullander:** Sketched and wrote many articles for the Cyprus Review, being one of Lawrence Durrell's closest associates in Cyprus. (Cyprus Review)

**Mohammed Naghi:** Born in Alexandria, Egypt in 1888, studied Law in France and Art in Italy and entered his country's diplomatic service in 1924. From 1937-39 he was the Director of the School of Fine Arts of Cairo and from 1939-47, Director of the Museum of Contemporary Art. In 1947 he accepted the position of Director of the Egyptian Academy of Fine Arts in Rome. Naghi had close contacts with the Greek and Cypriot community in Alexandria. Married the Greek Cypriot Lilika Tavernaris. He used to visit Cyprus every summer after his marriage in 1939 staying at the mountain resort of Platres. There he produced over fifty painting of the island. The artist died in 1956. (Information kindly provided by Mr. Valentinos Charalambous, friend of the artist.)

**Reginald Popham Nicholson:** Colonial Secretary in Cyprus 1926-29. Acting Governor 1927-29. Art was his hobby and when back in England he exhibited his drawings at the New English Art Club. (Jeremy Wood: Hidden Talents)

**Fay Nind:** On the staff of the Cyprus Review during the early part of the 1950's, she sketched and wrote articles about ethnographic subjects. (Cyprus Review)

**Samuel Pasfield Oliver:** (1838-1907). Geographer and antiquary. His watercolours for *The Illustrated News* are now in the Cambridge University Library in the Cobham Collection. He was in the Royal Artillery Corps in Cyprus and while serving he was a special correspondent for the above-mentioned magazine. (D.N.B.)

**Caterina Oules:** Landscape and portrait painter. Studied at the Royal Academy, daughter of Walter William Oules. Lived in London and exhibited between 1902-1937. (Christopher Wood: the Dictionary of Victorian painters.)



**Dorine van Oyen:** A Dutch painter who lived long in Paris and went to Cyprus in 1951 where she made her home. (Cyprus Review)

**Col. Pain:** Col. And Mrs. Pain lived in Ayios Demetrios just on the outskirts of Kyrenia with Godfrey de Selincourt and spent much of their time roaming the countryside. They were amateur painters. They left Cyprus in the early 50s. (Information kindly supplied by Mrs. Susan Simpson).

**Constantine Parthenis:** (1878-1967). His father was Greek and his mother Italian. He studied in Vienna and came to Greece in 1903 where he involved himself with iconography. In 1917 he founded the "Techni", a society constituting a forum for artists. His works are expressionistic and his subject the landscape.

(Stelios Lydakis: Dictionary of Greek Painters and Engravers.)

**Arnold Pearce:** signed *K.P.P.* Lived in Kyrenia in Lambousa house, Shelly Street. He was a German Jew that came to Cyprus in 1951 from Egypt where he was involved in the cotton trade. Some years later he moved to Prodromos, Troodos, where he stayed until he died. His daughter stayed on in Cyprus. (Information kindly supplied by Mrs. Susan Simpson).

**Pearce, Sir Horloyd Edward:** Born 1901, Landscape painter, member of the London Group, exhibited at the Royal Academy, Royal Institute, Royal Society of British Artists and elsewhere. He lived in London, was a friend of Ethelbert White and David Bomberg. (J. Johnson and A. Greutzner: The Dictionary of British Artists 1880-1940.)

**Lorenzo Warriner Pease:** Lorenzo Warriner Pease was a law graduate of Hamilton College in Clinton, New York and was ordained a missionary in the First Presbyterian church of Auburn in 1834. The same year he left from New York for Smyrna and then Constantinople and then on to Larnaca. While in Cyprus the Peases lost their twin children Lorenzo and Lucinda in 1837, whose gravestone is recorded by C. D. Cobham, found in the graveyard of the Monastery of St. Lazarus in Larnaca, along with that of the son of their friend and colleague Daniel Ladd. (Andrew Oliver: Beyond the Shores of Tripoli).

**Gladys Peto:** Born in Maidenhead in 1890 studied at the local school and then the London School of Art and worked for the *Sketch* from 1915 till 1926. Married to British Government employee C. L. Emmerson; she lived with her husband in Malta between 1924 and 1928 and then went to Cyprus. They moved to Egypt a year later where she wrote two of her books, *Malta and Cyprus*, and *The Egypt of the sojourner*. (Information from a label on one of the artists's paintings.)

**Sigmund Pollitzer:** Born in England in 1913, he was an avid traveller. Originally trained as an architect, he then took up engraving on glass and in due course became an industrial art designer decorating famous

liners such as the *Queen Mary*. A known recluse, he lived in a modest house outside Kyrenia and had very few friends and visitors. He exhibited at the British Institute in May 1954 with great success and was then commissioned to decorate the entrance of the newly formed Parliament House of Cyprus. (Cyprus Review.)

**Amateo Pretziosi:** watercolourist who worked in Constantinople and died in 1882. He belonged to the Italian School of Art but exhibited at the Royal Academy in 1882; many British museums have his works in their collections including the Museum of Edinburgh. (Christopher Wood: Dictionary of Victorian Painters.)

**Spyros Prosalentis:** (1830-1895). Studied Art in Venice and returned to teach at the Athens School of Art. He was basically a landscape artist from a family that was always involved with Art. (Sterios Lydakis: Dictionary of Greek Painters and Engravers.)

**Margot Rampton:** Portrait painter who studied under Egon at the Sir John Cass School. She worked exclusively in oils. Before Cyprus she lived in South Africa and Egypt. In Cyprus, she lived in Kyrenia where she stayed in the 50s for at least five years. She was married to Jimmy Hayes and was a dear friend of Durrell's. (Cyprus Review.)

**Olga Raouf:** Born in Moscow 1893. Her father Mr. Werkmeister was an antique dealer. She started drawing at the early age of 10 and was later a student at the Academy of Fine Arts in Moscow. During the War her family was sent to Siberia where she was separated from her two brothers and only re-united after the War in Germany during the exchange of War prisoners. She continued her studies in Munich and worked in Berlin. Since she was suffering from tuberculosis, she was advised to move to warmer climates, so in 1925 she came to meet family friends, the Classens, in Cyprus. She taught music at the American Academy in Larnaca and in 1927 she married the Turkish Cypriot doctor Raouf Bodamyalızade who was treating her. She died in 1987. (Information kindly supplied by the descendants)

**Max Ohnefalsche Richter:** Born in Sohland near Rothstein in Oberlaursitz, on April 7, 1850; he studied at Górlitz and Gross-Petersdorf and then agriculture and economics at the University of Halle. Not satisfied with his studies, he attempted to follow a military career but abandoned the idea due to ill health. Instead he followed art classes and photography lessons. He traveled extensively to Austria, Hungary and Italy ending in 1878 in Cyprus, where he worked for twelve years. He returned to Germany in 1890 and married Magda. Richter gave a number of lectures in Germany and Britain, published books and innumerable articles. He died in Germany in 1917. (Cyprus Popular Bank: M. Ohnefalsch Richter: Studies in Cyprus.)

**Otto Von Richter:** Born in 1792 in Neu-Kusthof, what is known today as Vastse Kuuste, in the area of



Dorpat in Estonia. His father Magnus von Richter was a Lithuanian Minister and his mother was Anna Augusta Charlotte von Engelhardt. From 1803 he was under the tutorship of Professor G. Ewers who later became Rector of the Dorpat University (1818-1830) and inspired in young Richter the love for the Ancient World. He studied Modern Greek and Oriental languages. In Vienna, he was much influenced by the German writer and intellectual Friedrich Schlegel, a well-known figure in early Romanticism. In 1814 he started traveling in the Orient and with his friend Sven Fredrik Lidman decided to make a scientific expedition to Egypt. Richter subsequently travelled to the Holy Land, Syria Cyprus and Asia Minor. In Smyrna he fell seriously ill with dysentery, of which he died on 13th August 1816. Professor G.Ewers, made public Richter's diaries in 1822 and a collection of the Greek and Latin inscriptions appeared in 1830. (Deutsch-Baltisches Biographisches Lexicon.)

**Karl Ritter:** Painter of the Austrian School who worked between 1837 and 1840 in Vienna. He followed Theodore Kotchy to Cyprus in 1856. (E. Bénézit: Dictionnaire des Peintres.)

**David Roberts:** (1796-1864). Called the "Scottish Canaletto", a prolific painter of architectural subjects who was best known for his recording in watercolours and oils life in the Middle East. He travelled all over Europe and was regarded a successful topographer. The results of his journeys were published in 1839, and in 1842-49. (Christopher Wood: Dictionary of Victorian Painters.)

**Zdzislaw Ruskowski:** Born in 1907 in Tomaszow, Poland. He began his career at the age of ten, drawing military scenes and horses. In 1914 the family moved to Smolensk in Russia. Life was difficult during the Revolution so they returned to Poland where Ruskowski studied Art at Cracow Academy. In 1935 he left for Paris and painted the French countryside influenced by the works of Cezanne. Slowly he made a name for himself and exhibited at the Salon in 1937. In 1939 he joined the Polish army but soon fled to Scotland where he married Jennifer McCormack and continued painting. He exhibited at the Royal Scottish Academy in Edinburgh. In 1945 they moved to London where he set up his studio and exhibited with the London Group. Went to Cyprus to visit his wife's family in 1955 and stopped on the way in Venice where he produced some lovely oils. There followed many one-man shows in England, and much travelling, including Greece. (Michael Simonow: The paintings of Ruskowski, )

**Archduke Louis Salvador:** Born on August 4th 1847, third son of the grand Duke of Tuscany in Florence. As a great grandson of the Emperor Leopold II he belonged to the house of Austria. He led a bohemian way of life; travelling and observing won him the affectionate title of "court savant" of his family. When not sailing the seas in his yacht the Nixe, he lived in Majorca and Villa Zindis in the Gulf of Trieste. He never married but was once engaged to Mathilde Marie Abelgunde, daughter of Archduke Albrecht, who died in a fire. Salvador died in Austria in 1915 having published over fifty works. (From notes by Sir David Hunt in the reprint Levkosia, Trigraph, 1983)

**Christoforos Savva:** Born in Cyprus in 1924, he served in the Cyprus Regiment 1943-46. In 1947 he went to England to study at the St. Martin's School of Art. Went back to his homeland in 1954 and founded the Pancyprian Union of Artists. In 1956-59 lived in Paris and was a student of Andre Lhote. Returned to Cyprus in 1960 and started participating in international exhibitions representing his country. Died in 1968. He was a modernist for the island's standards and the first to introduce innovative styles of art with pins and material. (Cultural Service Ministry of Education: Christoforos Savva, Nicosia, 1988)

**Anton Schranz:** Born 1801 in Minorca, son of artist Anton and Elizabeth Schranz. He came with his family to Malta in 1818 and established with his brother Joseph, also a painter, a studio in Valletta. In 1834 he accompanied Robert Parshley of Trinity College Cambridge on an archaeological expedition to Crete and illustrated his book "Travels in Crete" Bande, London 1837. He also accompanied Viscount Castlereagh to Egypt, Sinai, Syria and Palestine and illustrated "Journey to Damascus". The original drawings of this trip are at the Victoria and Albert Museum, London. His date of death is unknown. (Egon Schneider: Anton Schranz in The Schranz Artists.)

**Joseph Seebot:** Austrian botanical painter that followed Korchy to Cyprus in 1859 and did drawings for his publication. He did not confine himself only to botanical illustrations but also to landscape drawing. Works by him are kept by the Gratz State Art Galleries. (Polychronis Enepekides: Osterreichische und deutsche Zypernforscher 1800-1914, in Das Blatt im Meer, Kittseer Schriften zur Volkskunde, 1997)

**Jean Seignemartin:** Born in Dijon, 1848 died in Algiers 1875. Studied at the Ecole des Beaux Arts in Lyon. He was much influenced by Delacroix and travelled to the East in search of the exotic and the picturesque. He spent two years in Algiers. He drew views of Cyprus for the *Tour du Monde* in 1878. (E. Bénézit: Dictionnaire des Peintres...)

**Seton Karr Haywood Walter:** Born in India in 1859 educated at Eton, Oriel College Oxford and Sandhurst; joined the Berkshire regiment and the 92nd Highlanders and fought in the Egyptian War. Twice read papers on Alaska at the Royal Geographic Society and made over forty expeditions in Central Africa and thirty in India. Was acquainted with Stanley, Burton and Cameron. He re-discovered the flint and emerald mines in the Libyan desert, and donated pre-historic antiquities to more than six hundred museums all over the world. He was travelling with Stokes when he was murdered in 1938. (From a label attached on the artist's paintings.)

**Adrian Seligman:** Husband of Rosemary Grimble, he was a writer and journalist who worked closely with Lawrence Durrell on the Cyprus Review. He was known for his close affinity to the Turkish Cypriots on whom he wrote many articles, including "Living amongst the Turks." (Cyprus Review)



**Godfrey de Selincourt:** Lived in Cyprus during the early 50s with Col and Mrs. Pain in the outskirts of Kyrenia. He was a harmless eccentric that knew nothing but his love for painting. (Information kindly supplied by friends of the artist.)

**Hugh Montgomery Sinclair:** (1855-1927). A distinguished career soldier who was A.D.C. to Sir Garnet Wolseley, Governor of Cyprus and who served in India, Russia, the Boer War and the Great War. He also formed part of the expedition to subjugate the kingdom of Ashanti in West Africa in 1895-96 from whence he returned with a throne of King Prempeh, upholstered in human skin (sold by his son to the British Museum). (Information from Phillips Oxford catalogue of the sale of Lady Place, sale no. 1447 October 1990).

**John Skippe:** Born in 1741, in Ledbury Herefordshire, John Skippe, an amateur draughtsman and a connoisseur of the arts, was the son of John Skippe of Upper Hall and Jane Wellington of Whately. He studied at Merton College Oxford and was a student of and greatly influenced by John Baptist Malchair. Between 1766 and 1777 Skippe travelled to Italy and to the Middle East. During his travels he made a number of topographical sketches, mostly in the Italianate manner. (P. T. Garnett: The Foundation of Skippe Family Influence in Ledbury, Upper Hall Ledbury,

**George Smith:** Arrived in Cyprus in 1879, and was appointed at the Chief Secretary's office. Was promoted to Assistant to the Chief Secretary in 1883 and in 1891 was Commissioner of Paphos. He had no aptitude for languages and failed his Modern Greek exam in 1895, after some 15 years in Cyprus. In 1895 he was appointed Registrar-General. (Michael Given archives.)

**Athina Tarsouli:** Born 1888 in Athens, studied Art in Athens and Paris. Author of books, poems, childrens' stories and historical novels which she usually illustrated herself. She was given many awards by the Academy of Athens. (Stelios Lydakis: Dictionary of Greek Painters and Engravers.)

**Lady Meriel Edith Chenevix Trench:** Watercolour and landscape painter. Travelled widely. Lived in London. Exhibited 1930-1940; then moved to Cyprus where she stayed till 1974. Lived in upper Kyrenia. (J. Johnson and A. Greutzner: Dictionary of British Artists 1880-1940)

**William Turner:** (1792-1867) Author and diplomat born at Yarmouth, son of Richard Turner, lecturer. In 1811 he was attached to the embassy of Robert Liston and accompanied him to Constantinople where he remained for five years. During this time he traveled all over the Ottoman dominions, Greece and the islands of the Archipelago. He published the results of his wonderings under the title *Journal of a Tour in the Levant*, London, John Murray, 1820. In it there are extensive references to his visit to Cyprus and a small engraving of the village of Dali. His diplomatic career took him to Columbia for nine years. He

died at Leamington. In his book he deals with manners and customs rather than politics and military matters. (D.N.B.)

**Sidney Vacher:** Etcher and architect, born 1854, son of Thomas Brittain Vacher. He studied at the Royal Academy, lived in London and exhibited between 1882-1914. Died 1934. (J. Johnson and A. Greutzner: The Dictionary of British Artists, 1880-1940.)

**Frederick Vigers:** A landscape and literary painter who lived in Sussex and later in London. He exhibited 1884 -1904. (J. Johnson and A. Greutzner: The Dictionary of British Artists 1880-1940.)

**Ann Villiers:** Daughter of Governor of Cyprus Sir William Haynes-Smith; she was living in the island from 1898 to 1904 where her husband was also posted. (Information kindly provided by H.H.Malalieu.)

**Constantine Volonakis:** (1837-1907). Studied in Munich after finishing high school at the island of Syros. In 1883 he returned to Greece where he taught at the Art School of Athens till 1903. He was a successful marine painter and topographical artist. (Stelios Lydakis: Dictionary of Greek Painters and Engravers.)

**Vasilis Vryonides:** Born in Limassol in 1882. He studied in Venice and spent seven years in the studios of various renown artists in Europe. He used tempera and had an Orientalist style. Died 1958. (A. Coudounaris: Biographical Dictionary of Cypriots)

**John William Waterhouse:** (1849-1917). Historical and genre painter. Studied at the Royal Academy Schools. He came under the influence of Alma Tadema and then moved on to a more personal romantic style. He painted large canvases of biblical and historical scenes. Member of the Royal Academy and the Royal Institute. (Christopher Wood: The Dictionary of Victorian Painters.)

**Carl Werner:** Born in Weimar 1808 studied in Leipzig and Munich. Traveled extensively in Europe and the Middle East. He was a member of the New Watercolour Society in England from 1860 and a member of the Venetian Academy. He died in Leipzig in 1894. (E. Bénézit: Dictionnaire des Peintres...)

**Ethelbert White:** One of the English masters of black and white, born at Isleworth 1891. He attended St. George's College Weybridge and then St. John's School of Art; was elected to the London Group in 1915, the New English Art Club in 1921 and the Royal Society of Painters in Watercolour in 1934. He was a regular exhibitor at the Royal Academy until his death in 1972. (Skipwith Peyton: Ethelbert White)

**Henry G. White Lt. Col:** He arrived in Cyprus August 21<sup>st</sup> 1878 and was appointed Civil Commissioner



at Larnaca. He laid out a nursery just outside the town near the aqueduct, and worked hard for the elimination of the marshes. In 1879, without authority, he invited three contractors to build a section of the quay wall and could not pay them. In March he was made Commissioner of Nicosia and in November was succeeded by Gordon. (Michael Given archives).

**David Wilkie:** (1785-1841). Scottish historical and genre painter. Studied at the Royal Academy and travelled to Europe and the Middle East. He was influenced by Murillo and Velasquez turning to large paintings and grand subjects. He died at sea while returning from the Middle East. (Christopher Wood: The Dictionary of Victorian Painters.)

**William Williams:** Born 1856 in Winchester where he first went to school. He then studied at the Cranleigh School in Surrey and for five years was an articled pupil to an architect and surveyor in Winchester while at the same time taught evening classes in Art at Winchester School. At the age of 22 he set off to see the world and ended up in Cyprus where he joined the civil service. (Michael Given archives).

**John Gardner Wilkinson:** Born at Little Missenden, Bucks 1797, he is regarded the founder of Egyptology in Britain. Educated at Harrow and Exeter College Oxford. He embarked on his travels in 1819, visiting Europe and arriving in Egypt where he spent twelve years. Conducted excavations, discovered sites, deciphered papyri, drew architectural and archaeological monuments and published numerous articles and books on his finds and experiences. He died in Wales in 1875. (M. L. Bierbrier: Who is Who in Egyptology.)

**Frank Wootton:** Former President of the Guild of Aviation Artists, Vice- President of the Society of Equestrian artists, he was educated at Eastbourn College of Art; died in 1998. His first visit to Cyprus was instigated by the Government of Cyprus in 1951 and then he re-visited the island twice, with the Royal Airforce in 1971 and for holidays in 1975. In 1951, the Governor Sir Andrew Wright had asked for an exhibition to be organised at the British Institute that would have Cyprus as its theme. Wootton and two photographers from the National Geographic were taken all over the island by Reno Wideson painting and photographing. It was during his second visit that Wootton exchanged one of his Cyprus paintings for a carpet!. Wootton had many exhibitions and received numerous awards for his work. His paintings are kept by many museums in Britain and the U.S.A. (Information kindly supplied by the artist.)

**.Apostolos Yeralis:** (1886-) Born in the island of Metelene, he started his career as a woodcarver, then studied under Roilos and Jacobides who were amongst the most acknowledged Greek painters. In 1909 he was sent to Cyprus to teach Art at the Pancyprian Gymnasium of Nicosia where he remained until 1911. He was then awarded a scholarship to further his studies in Paris at the Julien Academy. To begin

with he was a landscape artist and topographer but then he developed into an ethnographer whereby he chose subjects from everyday life in Greece but always using the same wax models. These appear in most of his later works depicting women at church or in the kitchen, interiors of village houses etc. (Stelios Lydakis: The Dictionary of Greek Painters and Engravers.)

**Othon Yiavopoulos: (1862-1936)** Born in Vitina in the Peloponese in 1854, he studied Art at the School of Arts in Athens and chose to work mainly with iconography. He came to Cyprus around the end of the nineteenth century and stayed till 1926 whereupon he returned to Athens. Decorated many churches on the island and private homes with frescoes. The church of Ayia Napa in Limassol was decorated by Yiavopoulos. Died in 1936. (A. Coudounaris: Biographical Dictionary of Cypriots.)



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